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POLITICAL AND MILITARY

EVENTS

IN BRITISH INDIA,

FROM THE YEARS 1756 TO 1849.

BY

MAJOR WILLIAM HOUGH,

LATE A DEPUTY JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, BENGAL ARMY;

AUTHOR OF SEVERAL WORKS ON MILITARY LAW, OF "THE EXPEDITION TO CABOOL UNDER LORD KEANE;" AND THE "RETREAT OF THE CABOOL FORCE, IN 1842;" ETC., ETC.

VOL. I.

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DEDICATION.

To the Officers of Her Majesty's Army and Navy, *and of the* Honourable East India Company's Civil, Military, *and* Naval Services.

The Author served forty years in India, and as the officers of Her Majesty's and of the East India Company's services are both equally included in the operations during the several wars in India, he is of opinion that the above dedication is appropriate to the occasion. He has written without any party views. His object has been to endeavour to produce a work that may be useful to those entering the service; who may not have the means of referring to the numerous works and authorities quoted in these volumes.

London, Oriental Club,
12*th November*, 1852.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is presumed that the subject of Indian affairs must be interesting to all those now in the service of the East India Company; to those who have retired from it; and likewise to persons who may hereafter enter the military profession in India. To the relations and friends of all the above classes, even, the present publication may not be without its value.

The earlier period of the East India Company's connexion with India, when only possessed of factories, and in the character of "merchants trading to the East Indies," was important chiefly in a mercantile and commercial point of view; deprived of the trade of India (1813), and of the trade to China (1833), they assumed a new character—that of sovereigns.

The battle of Plassey gave us a "*locus standi*"

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in Bengal, in 1757, and the grant of the Dewanee 1765, yielding £2,000,000 a year, gave the first considerable revenue. We found a Mohammedan power paramount. The battle of Plassey enabled us to appoint a new nawab in place of Suraj-ud Dowlah, who had captured Calcutta from us, in 1756. We were opposed by the vizier of Oude, and even by the fugitive Emperor of Delhi—whose position was caused by the decadence of the Imperial Government, and the breaking up of the empire into pieces, each governed by an independent prince. We defeated both Ahmed Shah of Cabool, who had before invaded Hindostan, and left it, replacing the lawful sovereign on his throne. The battle of Panniput in 1761, fought between Ahmed Shah and the Mahrattahs, decided the fate of the latter,—the Mohammedans, however, never formed a stable government,—and the nominal emperor (Shah Allum), who had not ascended his throne, placed himself under our protection, and resided at Allahabad. In 1771, the Mahrattahs made a great effort to become paramount in power, by placing the emperor on his throne at Delhi—de-

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signing to govern in his name. The Mahrattahs originally resided in the south of India—this movement brought them to the north. The only rising Mohammedan power was that of Hyder Ali, of Mysore. The Mahrattahs were recovering their power; the English stood in their way to the realisation of a Mahrattah empire; and the native powers, both Hindoo and Mohammedan, conceived the idea of adopting the military discipline of Europeans. At times the nizam was supported by the French: next he placed himself under the protection of the English.

Our policy of endeavouring to gain a formidable ally among the Mahrattahs, and thus to protect our provinces in Bengal and in the Carnatic, induced us to support the claim of Rugonath Rao to the office of peishwa. This involved us in a Mahrattah war which ended in 1782. Hyder Ali of Mysore, attacked us at Madras in 1780, and continued his war till his death (1782), when his son, Tippoo Sultan, continued the war till 1784; when, deprived of his French officers by the peace of 1783, his means of aggression were lessened, by the want of support.

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For many years there had been no legitimate head of the Mahrattah or of the Mohammedans. The raja of Satara was a prisoner—the emperor was likewise a prisoner at Delhi; till we released him, in 1803, by the victory gained near that city. The peishwa's power had become weak, and Holkar and Sindia, both, desired to hold the paramount authority at Poona. The peishwa fled; we restored him to his throne. This displeased the Mahrattah chiefs, who considered the management of his affairs to be a Mahrattah *(family)* arrangement. This led to the Mahrattah war of 1803-4. In 1816, we made a new treaty with the peishwa. This caused the Mahrattah war of 1817-18. The difference between the Mahrattahs and the Mohammedans, was this: the former had no *external* relations—the latter had several powers to appeal to.

In 1789, Tippoo Sultan attacked our ally of Travancore; we supported the raja; defeated Tippoo and took half his dominions. Zemaun Shah of Cabool, desired to invade India. Tippoo applied to the Mohammedan powers of Constantinople, Cabool, Persia, and even to the native

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princes of India; and addressed Napoleon and the French Directory, to aid him in the re-establishment of the Mohammedan power in India. This led to the second war with Tippoo—to the capture of Seringapatam, and his death in 1799. There was a great difference in the wars between the Mahrattahs and the Mohammedans; in the latter case, they expected to be aided by the French; and thus the war became more complicated—hence we sent an expedition to Egypt; another to the Isle of France; and a third to Java.

When, in the early wars in India, the English had to contend against large bodies of cavalry and horsemen, we never could bring them to action; our infantry and guns made too slow movements; it only remained to capture their forts. When the French and foreign officers induced the native princes to give an European discipline to their infantry, then battles were fought upon a large scale. The result often astonished the victors; but numbers failed against the smaller British force.

The selection of the operations given in this

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work, has not been made by the author with reference to any particular Presidency. He has endeavoured to show that the Mahrattahs have been our great antagonists. The Marquis Wellesley, the most talented Governor-general we ever had in India, desired to keep the Mahrattahs to the south of India. In 1803, we found M. Perron, with a large disciplined army, and with a powerful artillery, in the service of Sindia, paramount in authority in our present upper provinces, in the north of India.

The danger to India is not, in the present day, *external*, but *internal;* and, so long as we promote the well-being of the nations of British India, preserve their social and religious institutions, and do not interfere with their laws of inheritance and adoption, which are part and parcel of their religion, we shall have nothing to fear internally. Education is the stepping-stone to all knowledge.

W. HOUGH, MAJOR.

LONDON, ORIENTAL CLUB,
12th November, 1852.

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[1] As they had done formerly to Egypt (1810), and the Isle of France (1810).

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POLITICAL

AND

MILITARY EVENTS IN INDIA.

1756—1849.

CHAPTER I.

It has been often remarked that the affairs of India do not interest the public in general. In the House of Commons, on the discussion regarding the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, in 1833,[1] the Right Hon. Mr. B. Macauley said "A broken head in Cold-bath Fields excites more attention and greater interest in this house, than three pitched battles in Hindostan." (Several honourable members, hear! hear!) Mr. Macauley,—"I am not in the slightest degree exaggerating. This is no figure of speech, it is a real

[1] Mirror of Parliament, vol. xxiv. p. 2916.

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fact." On a former night in discussing this bill,—"There were fewer members in the house than generally attend the discussion of a Turnpike Act or a Road Bill."

Since the passing of the last bill (28th August, 1833), there have been a great many committees' reports in different years,[1] and in 1848, there were no less than eight reports made by parliamentary committees on the products of India, of sugar, coffee, cotton, &c., so that much evidence has been taken, and it may be safely asserted that since the year 1829, there has been as much evidence collected on East India affairs, as was submitted to the houses of parliament in the whole period before the above year. Now, as the merchants of Liverpool and Manchester are very much interested in the trade to India, we may expect that blue books will not be scarce during the sessions intervening between the present time and the 30th of April, 1854.

The united companies became the present East India Company in 1708,[2] so that it began its

[1] 1834, 1835, 1836, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1844, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851.

[2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 1. The original company was formed in the time of Queen Elizabeth.—Vol. i. p. 21, and a charter granted in A.D. 1600.

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career under the auspicious reign of one queen (Anne) and it will, as is usual, petition the parliament in the reign of our gracious queen (Victoria) for a renewal of its lease; for Sir J. C. Hobhouse (now Lord Broughton) repudiated in 1851, the idea of the charter being renewed.

At very early periods the Company were indebted to the exertions of gentlemen of the medical profession. Orme states,[1] "the trade of this country (Bengal) was opened to the English by means of a surgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was sent from Surat to Agra, to attend a favourite daughter of the emperor Shah Jehan, whom he cured, and the emperor, besides other favours, granted him a patent to trade free of customs throughout his dominions, with which Boughton proceeded to Bengal, intending to purchase goods in this province, and to carry them by sea to Surat."

His patent would probably have been little regarded, if the nabob of the province had not wanted his assistance to cure one of his favourite women, whom he likewise recovered; on which the nabob prevailed on him to remain in his service, giving him an ample stipend, and confirming the privilege of trade which he had ob-

[1] Vol. ii. p. 8.

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tained at Agra, with a promise to extend it to all others of the English nation who should come to Bengal. Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the English governor at Surat, by whose advice the Company in 1640 sent two ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which being introduced to the nabob by Boughton, were received with courtesy, and assisted in their mercantile transactions; and the advantages gained by this trial, gave encouragement to prosecute the trade.

The second instance occurred in the last century. The emperor of Delhi, Furruk Shir, was ill. An embassy had been sent from Calcutta to Delhi,[1] consisting of John Surman and Edward Stephenson, two of the ablest factors of the Company, accompanied by an American named Serhaud. "The Moghul, despairing of the skill of his own empirics, was advised by Caundorah (his favourite) to employ the surgeon of the English embassy, named Hamilton, by whom he was in a few weeks perfectly cured; and, in gratitude for this service, promised to grant the ambassadors any indulgences which might be consistent with the dignity of his government. Soon after his recovery succeeded the festival of his mar-

[1] Vol. ii. p. 20. It reached Delhi on 8th July, 1715.

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riage with the daughter of Jassing (Jy Sing), the principal rajah of the Rajpoot nation, which interrupted all other business, and obliged the ambassadors to wait six months before they could gain permission to present their petition."

It was presented in January 1716, but it seems nothing could be done till the vizier had been bribed. "Soon after, thirty-four patents, including the different subjects of the petition, were issued in the Moghul's name, and signed with his seal." The emperor was assassinated in 1719.

It was, therefore, gratifying to read of the installation of Sir James Thompson, now surgeon-general of Bengal, on the 23rd May, 1851, at the Government House, Calcutta, with due honour, on his appointment to be a Knight Commander of the (Military) Most Honourable Order of the Bath.[1] The Court of Directors made a move in the right direction, by recommending to the proper authorities, the conferring such a distinction on one of their servants,—a member of a profession to which the Company were so much indebted in its early days. It is said that the Missionary Society three or four years ago, sent a surgeon to Damascus, where he is doing much good. So much for the medical profession.

[1] Englishman, Calcutta, 24th May, 1851.

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Passing over many transactions which occurred between the years 1708 and 1746, we come to an event of great importance; this was the capture of Madras by the French in that year:[1] Madras was then the principal settlement of the Company. It was restored at the peace in 1749. In June, 1756, the nawab of Bengal, Suraj-u-Dowlah, instigated by the Dutch and French, attacked and took Calcutta.[2] A force was sent from Madras, under Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson, which retook Calcutta on the 2nd of January, 1757. It was next resolved to attack the nawab, but as Chandernagore, belonging to the French, was situated between Calcutta and Moorshedabad, it was resolved to attack it first, as otherwise we should have an enemy in our rear. The French in Bengal had a force of three hundred Europeans, and a train of artillery, which, if added to the army of the nawab, would have rendered him a more powerful enemy; this force was commanded by M. Law. The nabob sent orders to the English to desist from the attack on Chandernagore, and even put part of his army in motion to prevent it. The place was reduced by the fire from Admiral Watson's ships, on the 23rd March, 1757.

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 53. [2] Vol. iii. pp. 163, 174.

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Clive had been desired by the Madras authorities to send the troops which had been employed in the above operations, back to Madras, for the governor was apprehensive of being attacked by the French. War between England and France was officially known to the admiral in the first week in March, 1757.[1] It was known that M. Bussy had marched on the 10th of May, and was five marches beyond Cuttack on his road towards Calcutta. It had been resolved to attack the nawab, and place Meer Jaffier on the musnud at Moorshedabad. It was necessary to detain the troops sent from Madras, as, without those, no operations could be undertaken against Suraj-u-Dowlah. As the case stood, it was to be feared that M. Bussy's force would join the nawab in another attack on Calcutta.[2] "Pressingly invited to come into this province" by the nawab, "we discovered that he was designing our ruin, by a conjunction with the French." Meer Jaffier having promised to aid us in our enterprise, but little opposition was to be expected against our troops. While we placed a friend on the musnud, in the room of an enemy, who had de-

[1] Malcolm's Life of Clive, vol. i. p. 186.
[2] Vol. i. p. 263.

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stroyed our factory and fort at Calcutta, our own security demanded that we should deprive the nawab of all power to inflict on us a second injury. M. Law had been recalled from Patna, which is about three hundred miles from Moorshedabad. M. Bussy's force consisted of seven hundred Europeans and five thousand sepoys. M. Law's force was about two hundred[1] men. Malcolm says, "The dangers at Bengal, had Clive abandoned the scene, were immediate; and even if we suppose that Calcutta had not been retaken by the resentful Suraj-u-Dowlah, aided by the party of French[2] who still remained, it was certain that all those impressions and advantages which had been gained by the combined efforts of Admiral Watson and Clive, would have been lost, and future armaments required to restore the English in Bengal to that power from which they had fallen, and which was henceforth indispensable to their existence; for from the

[1] Malcolm's Life of Clive, vol. i. p. 287.

[2] Supposing Bussy neither came to Bengal, as was expected, nor sent any reinforcements to his countrymen, the strength of the party under Law, was above two hundred men, and a large proportion of officers. Clive's whole strength of Europeans in September, (the earliest time at which the season permitted his sailing to Madras) was only 500."

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moment they had been compelled to undertake offensive operations against the native sovereign of the country, their reverting to their former condition of merchants was impossible." They would have had the French and Dutch to contend against, joined by the native powers, and must have even lost their trade.

On the 19th June, 1757, Clive[1] wrote to the secret committee in Calcutta, expressing his great anxiety at the little intelligence he received from Meer Jaffier, whom it was intended to place on the musnud. Clive wished to prevail on him to march out and join him at Plassey, the place of rendezvous. Meer Jaffier did not do more than write, that he would be found on the left of the nawab's army at the head of the horse, and indicating that there his flag would be seen. He had bought over most of the commanders of the horse. It seems that Meer Jaffier, by not joining Clive as proposed, gave the nawab confidence to try a battle; otherwise Suraj-u-Dowlah would, probably, have fortified himself at the city of Moorshedabad. A few day's delay might have been of consequence; the nawab fled during the battle. "Suraj-u-Dowlah was not discovered

[1] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 257.

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till some days after his flight. However, he was at last taken[1] in the neighbourhood of Rajah-Mahul,[2] and brought to Moorshedabad on the 2nd instant (July), late at night." "Monsieur Law and his party came as far as Rajahmahul to Suraj-u-Dowlah's assistance, and were within three hours' march of him when he was taken. As soon as they heard of his misfortunes, they returned by forced marches." It is obvious that M. Law's party would have been of great service, had the nawab intended to hold out at his capital. Besides, as the season was so far advanced, every day's delay was of great consequence. It rained heavily on the 19th June.

On the 21st June, Clive[3] called a council of war, and proposed the question, "Whether in our present situation, without assistance, and on our own bottom, it would be prudent to attack the nabob; or whether we should wait till joined by some country power?"

The votes were as follows, (from the Clive MSS.):—

[1] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 270.
[2] Seventy miles N.N.W. from Moorshedabad.
[3] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 258.

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NEGATIVE.	FOR IMMEDIATE ATTACK.
Robert Clive	Eyre Coote
James Kilpatrick	G. Alex. Grant
Archibald Grant	G. Muir
George Fredk. Goupp	Charles Palmer
Andrew Armstrong	Robert Campbell
Thomas Rumbold	Peter Carstairs
Christian Firkan	W. Jennings
John Corneille	
H. Popham	

Clive, however, almost immediately afterwards "satisfied himself, that there was no other road to safety and honour, but by moving forward; and without consulting any individual,[1] much less the council of war he had so unwisely assembled, on the very evening of the day on which the council had been held, changing his purpose, he determined to march against the enemy, and accordingly gave orders for his army to cross the river the following morning." It is stated, that "before he carried this resolution into effect, he had received a letter from Meer

[1] Major Coote in the House of Commons said that "Clive spoke to him first, unasked, of the army marching."—*Parl. Reports*, vol. iii. p. 153.

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Jaffier, which, though it in some degree removed the doubts he had before entertained of the sincerity of that leader, confirmed him in his opinion, that the success of the enterprise must wholly depend upon the advance of the British troops."

One circumstance to be remembered, is that Clive was driven to hostile proceedings against the nawab. Thus we find,[1] "Calcutta, which offered no resistance, was taken possession of on the 2nd January, 1757." Then[2] he writes on the 1st February, 1757, "We are encamped with our little army; and the nabob is at the head of 40,000 men to give us battle." Next,[3] "The hopes indulged of an amicable disposition on the part of Suraj-u-Dowlah were soon dispelled by the military movements of that prince." On the 22nd February, he wrote to the secret committee, and reported the result of his attack to surprise the nawab's camp. Clive had 1,350 Europeans, and 800 sepoys; the nabob above 40,000 men. In a sharp action with part of that army during a fog, he lost two guns, one hundred and twenty Europeans, and one hundred sepoys. Preparations were making for another attack; but Suraj-

[1] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 155. [2] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 171.
[3] Malcolm, vol. i p. 173.

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u-Dowlah made overtures for peace! a treaty was concluded on the 9th February.

"The attack of Chandernagore[1] had been strongly recommended to Clive's attention (A. D. 1757) by the government of Madras; and it was evident that, while the French left so strong a force at that settlement, the safety of Calcutta must be endangered whenever its garrison was weak, or the nabob of Bengal chose to contract an intimate alliance with our European enemy." M. Bussy had possession of the northern Circars. Malcolm says, "Whatever might be Bussy's intention, it was sufficiently obvious that he possessed the power of forming a junction[2] with the French force on the Ganges; and it was equally obvious that such a junction would be ruinous to the English interests." The nawab had given his consent to our attacking Chandernagore, and then retracted it. Malcolm says, "The very ground which he urged, the expected advance through Cuttack of Bussy, was considered an additional reason for hastening the siege." The place was taken on the 23rd March, 1757.

[1] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 183.

[2] "The distance of the northern part of the country ceded to Bussy was not two hundred miles from Calcutta, through Cuttack."

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M. Law[1] and his party had been sent away from Moorshedabad by the nawab, who "at first seemed not to oppose the surrender of this small party of the French to the English; he afterwards pretended to banish them from his dominions, and they marched from Moorshedabad for Patna, but in consequence of a note[2] from the nabob, M. Law remained at Rajhmahal, the manager of which district had been directed to supply him with money, and to aid him in every way he could until Bussy's approach." The nabob by these acts, by his positive refusal to allow the English to proceed up the river, by his non-performance of some of the articles of the treaty, and by his advancing a part of his army to Plassey, had placed himself in a position hostile to the Company. But he artfully desired to throw the odium of renewed hostilities upon the English. He complained of the continuance in the field of the troops under Clive, and of the fleets lying off Chandernagore. If the British

[1] Malcolm; vol. i. p. 211.

[2] Translation of a note from Suraj-u-Dowlah to M. Law: "I send you ten thousand rupees for expenses. Remain quiet at Rajhmahal, when M. Bahadre (Bussy) &c. comes on this side Cuttack, I will then send for you."—*Parl. Reports*, vol. iii. p. 221.

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commanders would return to Calcutta, or leave the river, he would, he said, withdraw his advanced corps from Plassey, and remain on friendly terms, as he would then be convinced that the object of the English was commerce, not war. This was the purport of several communications; but every day brought proof of their insincerity, and showed that the nabob's sole object was to lull them into a fatal security, till, from the departure of their force, and the arrival of his French allies, he could accomplish his design of extirpating them from his dominions."

"An intercepted letter from M. Law [1] to the chief of one of the lesser French factories, afforded of itself proof of this fact, had any been wanting; but the indiscretion of the nabob was too great to allow him to conceal his designs, and a number of the chief nobles and ministers of his government, who had long been discontented with his rule, perceiving what must early happen, sought the alliance of the English, concluding that they must desire the dethronement of a prince, whose

[1] Copy (Ext.) "Je viens de recevoir une lettre du nabob, par laquelle il m'ordonne de retourner à Muxadabad. Il vient, dit il, se joindre à nous pour tomber sur les Anglais." &c.

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continuance in power was incompatible with their existence."

Clive[1] marched with an army of about 3,000 men, and nine guns. Orme[2] states the nawab's army to have been 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. The greatest part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the rest with various arms, pikes, swords, arrows, rockets. The cavalry, both men and horses, drawn from the northern regions, were much stouter than any which serve in the armies of Coromandel. The cannon were mostly of the largest calibres, twenty-four and thirty-two pounders, and these were mounted on the middle of a large stage, raised six feet from the ground, carrying, besides the cannon, all the ammunition belonging to it, and the gunners themselves who managed the cannon on the stage itself. There were also forty vagabond Frenchmen, under the command of one Sinfray; at a large tank, that nearest the grove,[3] near which Clive drew up his troops in line. There is not much to be said about this battle, or rather cannonade, which lasted six

[1] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 256.

[2] Orme, vol. ii. p. 173.

[3] Eight hundred yards long and three hundred broad.

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hours. Clive[1] computed the enemy's loss at five hundred killed; the English loss at twenty-two killed and fifty wounded. In the action with part of the nawab's army (of 40,000 men) near Calcutta, on the 5th of February, 1757, Clive[2] had 1,350 Europeans and eight hundred sepoys, and lost one hundred and twenty Europeans and one hundred sepoys killed and wounded. Orme gives one hundred and twenty-one Europeans and fifty-three sepoys. This was in an attack during a fog. It is obvious that the little loss at Plassey was owing to the enemy's guns being fired from raised platforms: our loss was caused chiefly by the French guns. Meer Jaffier's horse and many of the nawab's troops were not engaged.

The council of war held on the 21st June, 1757, to decide as to the attack of the nawab. consisted of twenty officers according to Orme[3], who says, "Contrary to the forms usually practised in councils of war, of taking the voice of the youngest officer first, and ascending from this to the opinion of the president, Colonel Clive gave his own opinion first."

[1] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 266.
[2] Malcolm, vol. i. p. 176.
[3] Orme, vol. ii. p. 170.

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The Cintra convention held in 1808, consisted[1] of seven general officers. They signed a report on 22nd of December, 1808, declaring that " no further military proceeding is necessary on the subject"—*i. e.* no general court martial was necessary. The commander-in-chief ordered a revision, when a question was proposed, " Do you, or do you not approve of the armistice, as concluded on the 22nd of August, 1808, in the relative situation of the two armies?"—six approved and one disapproved. Another question proposed was as to the convention, concluded on the 31st August, 1808. When four approved and three disapproved: those who differed from the majority gave their opinion in writing. On both occasions the *youngest* officer signed first. In the original report they signed according to seniority. (Judge Advocate-general's office, 27th December, 1808.) Clive gave his own vote first, and then descended to the lowest according to the succession of rank," according to Orme; but Malcolm gives the names of Majors Kilpatrick and Grant as voting next after Clive.

Clive had no cavalry, the enemy had eighteen thousand horse; the enemy's fifty pieces of (large)

[1] Hough's Military Law Authorities, 1839.

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cannon were of little use. Indeed, guns raised on platforms six feet high, must necessarily have thrown the shot over the heads of our men. The four light guns under Sinfray, near the larger tank, that nearest the grove, and two larger pieces advanced on a line with this tank, close to the bank of the river, did all the execution from the redoubt, to which he retired. At this period of our military history in India, the natives had not become expert artillerymen. We had no cavalry in our force for many years after this battle. The enemy abandoned their camp in the utmost confusion at five P. M. Orme says, " The cause of this sudden panic was the flight of the nabob, who hearing that Meer Jaffier remained inactive on the plain, and that the English were advancing to storm his camp, mounted a camel, and fled at the utmost pace of the animal, accompanied by about two thousand horsemen." The battle of the 23rd June, 1757, placed Meer Jaffier on the throne at Moorshedabad.

In the year 1758 the English were in full expectation that M. Lally, who had some time before arrived in India, would lay siege to Madras.[1] Colonel Forde was detached from Calcutta.

[1] Mill. vol. iii. p. 222.

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He retook Vizagapatam,[1] and then Masulipatam; when the French abandoned their design against Madras.[2] In 1759, the Dutch sent an expedition from Batavia. It appears that Meer Jaffier had instigated the French and Dutch to oppose us. They landed, and were attacked and defeated by Colonel Forde on the 25th of November at Bedarra, about four miles from Chinsura,[3] with great loss, and the rest made prisoners.[4]

In April 1760, Colonel Coote[5] took Cuddalore; and on the 4th January, 1761, he obtained possession of Pondicherry, the French head quarters. From 1749 to 1761, we had recovered Madras (at the peace), and had taken Masulipatam, Cuddalore and Pondicherry; thus holding these four places on the coast of Coromandel, between Cape Cormorin and Ganjam, the northern post of the French: and thus, as remarked by Mill, in the years 1756 to 1761, the French power, which

[1] Malcolm, vol. ii. p. 12. [2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 230.

[3] Malcolm, vol. ii. p. 87.

[4] When Colonel Ford reported to Clive the arrival of the Dutch in the river, and wrote for orders, Clive was playing at cards, and wrote on the back of the nine of diamonds: "Fight them, and I will send you an order in council tomorrow."

[5] Mill, vol. iii. p. 257. Peace in 1748.

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had been superior to that of the English, had now become inferior to us in India.

The viceroyalty of Meer Jaffier came to a close in 1760. "From the administration of Jaffier, resigned as he was to a set of unworthy favourites,[1] old, indolent, voluptuous, estranged from the English, and without authority; no other consequences were to be expected than those which had already been experienced. From a strong sense of the incurable vices of Jaffier and his family Mr. Holwell, during the few months of his administration, had advised the council to abandon him; and, embracing the just cause of the emperor, to avail themselves of the high offers which that deserted monarch was ready to make." The son-in-law, Meer Casim, was made nawab by a treaty concluded on 17th September. Shah Jehan, the emperor of Delhi, was dethroned in 1760; he was succeeded in the title by his son Shah Allum II., who was roaming about the country, seeking the means of his restoration to the throne at Delhi. Ever since the death of Aurungzeb, in 1707, what with the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, and the appearance of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, from Cabool, when the insurrec-

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 306.

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tion at Delhi took place in 1753, the empire was fast declining.

Ahmed Shah Abdallee had made his appearance a second time in Hindostan. The Mahrattahs had been incited by the vizier of Delhi (Umad-ul-Mulk) to invade the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund. The vizier had, on hearing of the march of Ahmed Shah for the invasion of Hindostan,[1] ordered the murder of the Emperor Aulumgur, by whose death Shah Allum became emperor! On the 7th January, 1761, was fought the decisive battle at Panniput between Ahmed Shah, Abdallee, and the Mahrattahs, who were defeated. This broke the power of the Mahrattahs for several years, and caused them to form more separate parties, and withdrew them from the north to the south of India for a time.

The new emperor had made repeated excursions into the province of Behar, and had attacked Patna. To render the troops of the new nawab, Meer Casim, more efficient, the council of Calcutta induces him to dress and discipline his sepoys like those of the Company's service. Owing to the disturbed state of the country about Delhi, the capital of Hindostan,[2] the new

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 293. [2] Agra was in the line of Akbar.

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emperor was in hopes of getting possession of the provinces of Behar and Bengal by an inroad made by the Mahrattahs. Meer Casim, attended by a detachment under Major Yorke, defeated the troops opposed to them near Beerbhoom. The emperor had been acknowledged by Ahmed Shah Abdallee as sovereign of Hindostan, and Shah Allum, after having opposed us, entered into terms. This connection between the emperor and the English displeased Meer Casim.[1] He had views of independence and conquest, and at length took up arms against us. In 1761, Major Hector Munro[2] took Mahé, to the north of Calicut, from the French. It was restored at the peace in 1763. In April 1763, Meer Casim,[3] being persuaded that the council of Calcutta had resolved to depose him, he applied for assistance to the emperor and the nawab of Oude. The council restored Meer Jaffier. Being defeated, Meer Casim fled, and sought the protection of the vizier of Oude, with whom a treaty had been made. He was received by the vizier and emperor (who was with Suja-ad-dowla) with distinction in 1764. The vizier himself desired the

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 314.
[2] Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 400.
[3] Mill, vol. iii. p. 339.

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possession of the provinces of Behar, Bengal and Orissa.[1] He took the field, and was defeated at Patna on the 3rd May, 1764. The vizier was at last defeated by Major Munro (afterwards Sir Hector) at Buxar, on the 23rd October, 1764. His victory broke the forces of Suja-ad-dowla, and placed the emperor under the protection of the English. It was agreed that the English, by virtue of the imperial grant,[2] should obtain possession of Ghazeepoor, and the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, and that the emperor should be established in possession of Allahabad.

Meer Jaffier died in January 1765. He was succeeded by Nujum-ud-dowla, the next surviving son of Jaffier, twenty years old. In the treaty with the new nawab,[3] dated in February 1675, "it was resolved by the English to take the military defence of the country entirely into their own hands; and to allow the nabob to keep only so many troops as should be necessary for the parade of government, the distribution of justice, and the business of the collections."

[1] On the 11th February, 1764, a mutiny broke out among our troops, they expected a reward for their services against Meer Casim.

[2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 354.

[3] Mill, vol. iii. p. 358.

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The state of Bengal rendering it necessary to reappoint Clive (now a peer), and the votes in the Court of Directors not effecting the return (thirteen for, and eleven directors against, his return to India,) the court of proprietors caused his reappointment. Clive appointed president at Bengal, and commander-in-chief, reached Calcutta on the 3rd May, 1765. The new nawab of Bengal, in June 1765, resigned the whole of his revenues, and was allowed a pension. The nawab was obliged to obey the orders of the committee in Calcutta.

The vizier of Oude (Suja-ud-dowla) on the 3rd May, 1765, again [1] tried his strength against the English at Corah, near Allahabad, and was defeated. He at length threw himself on the generosity of the English. The emperor, it was settled, was to have an annual tribute from the three provinces of Behar, Bengal and Orissa, granted in the names of Meer Jaffier, Meer Casim and Nujum-ud-dowla, of twenty-six lakhs of rupees; but he was refused the jaghiers, or land, amounting to five and-a-half lakhs rupees. "On his part, was required [2] the imperial grant of the dewanee, or collection and receipt of the reve-

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 406.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 409.

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nues in Bengal, Bahar and Orissa. The firman of the dewanee, which marks one of the most conspicuous eras in the history of the Company, constituting them masters of so great an empire, in name and in responsbility, as well as in power, was dated the 12th day of August, 1765. Along with the dewanee, was required of the emperor his imperial confirmation of all the territory which the Company possessed throughout the nominal extent of the Moghul empire. Amongst the confirmations, was not forgotten the jaghier of Lord Clive, a possession, the dispute about which that powerful servant had compromised before his departure from England, by yielding the reversion to the Company, after ten year's payment, if so long he should live." The dewanee was reckoned by Clive[1] to be "little short of two hundred lakhs (about £2,000,000) to the Company, clear of all expenses in collections."

In consequence of an order issued,[2] that "on the 1st January, 1766, the double batta should cease, and that the officers in Bengal, with some exceptions in favour of the troops in the most distant and expensive stations, should be placed

[1] Malcolm, vol. ii. p. 376.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 420.

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on the same footing with those of the coast of Coromandel (Madras army), that is, receive single batta when in the field; in garrison or cantonments, no batta at all, the troops mutinied." Upon the conclusion of the war with Suja-uddowla, the troops were regimented, according to a plan proposed by Clive, and sanctioned by the Company before his departure from England; divided into three brigades, each consisting of one regiment of European infantry, one company of (European) artillery, six battalions of sepoys, and one troop of black cavalry; and were stationed, one brigade at Mongheer, three hundred miles from Calcutta; another at Bankipore, near Patna, one hundred miles beyond Mongheer; and the third at Allahabad,[1] two hundred miles beyond Patna, whither it had been sent as a security against the Mahrattahs, whom the emperor and vizier were far too reduced to be able to oppose."

The directions of Clive[2] were immediately sent to the commanding officers, "to find, if possible,

[1] The communication being more distant, the officers there were less affected. The officers agreed to send in their resignations by a certain day, (1st May, 1766).

[2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 424.

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the leaders in the conspiracy; to arrest those officers whose conduct appeared the most dangerous, and detain them prisoners; above all things, to secure the obedience of the sepoys and black (native) commanders, if the European troops should appear to be infected with disobedience to their officers. Letters were dispatched to the council at Calcutta, and the presidency at Fort St. George, to make the greatest exertions for a supply of officers; and Clive himself hastened towards Mongheer."

Malcolm says,[1] "It must, moreover, have been satisfactory to Lord Clive to know that this combination had not its source in any of those evil designs by which such mutinous proceedings are often marked. It originated in the too long continuance of a temporary grant, of an extra allowance to which young officers (and almost all concerned were such) soon adapted their expenditure; and when luxuries, recommended by the climate and character of the service, became necessaries, they were not likely to recognise the justice of the distinction, which had been made by the directors, between the boon of a nabob (which the double allowance first was), and a direct pay-

[1] Malcolm, vol. iii. p. 78.

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ment from the treasury of government, which it became after the Company had obtained the grant of the dewanee.[1] The opposition which the officers offered to the reduction of their allowances, was in some measure countenanced by the local government, which had evaded the execution of the orders issued by the directors for the abolition of double batta."

Lord Clive wrote to Calcutta to get any merchants' clerks, or persons out of the service, to take commissions. One old officer, when most of the officers had agreed to send in their resignations to the adjutant-general of the army, addressed the envelope in the usual manner, but the enclosure was addressed to himself, and was returned to him. Some officers were tried by courts-martial. Some were pardoned, and had their commissions restored; but these were young subalterns, supposed to be misled by their seniors; thus captains and older officers were not pardoned.

The advantage of possessing the northern cir-

[1] In the case of the Nawab of Oude, officers serving beyond the Caramnassa river, received double full batta from the nawab, but in 1802 when the nawab assigned territory to pay our troops, the double full batta ceased.

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cars, and a line of coast which joined the English territories on the Carnatic to those of Bengal, suggested to Clive,[1] in 1765, the importance of obtaining it on permanent terms. A firman was accordingly received from the emperor, by which the northern circars were freed from their dependence upon the subahdar of the Deccan, and bestowed upon the English. The Mahrattahs held the province of Orissa, so that they were shut in to the south and north; and if they advanced to the north, they were in danger of losing Orissa. This was an advantage as regarded the protection of Calcutta,[2] the Orissa province intervening between the two.

In 1767, Hyder Ali (father of Tippoo Sultan) began to occupy the attention of the English.[3] He had rendered himself entire master of the kingdom of Mysore. He was for many years the enemy of the Company, and his son continued to be such till the day of his death.

In 1772, Mr. Hastings[4] was appointed first governor-general of India. Ever since the treaty made with the emperor, he had been living at

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 453.

[2] Bussy's force there in May, 1757, threatened Calcutta.

[3] Mill, vol. iii. p. 456.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 516.

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Allahabad, in the enjoyment of the districts of Allahabad and Corah, under the protection of the English.[1] He determined, against the advice of the English, to march for Delhi to assume his throne. He left Allahabad in the month of May, 1771, at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men. He did not reach Delhi till the 25th December, 1771. He had placed himself under the protection of the Mahrattahs. They soon hurried him into the field, wishing to make conquests under the influence of his name. The country of the Rohillahs "was the object of cupidity to both; to the emperor, as an increase of his limited territory; to the Mahrattahs, as a field of plunder, if not a permanent possession." Their united power defeated the Rohillahs under Zebita Khan, who fled.

The English were bound by treaty to aid the the vizier of Oude in the defence of his own territories.[2] In September, 1773, at a meeting held at Benares between him and the governor-general, the vizier proposed that the English should assist to put him in possession of the Rohillah country, lying north of his dominions and east of the Ganges. This was acted upon

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 545. [2] Vol. iii. p. 561.

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the next year. As the emperor had left the protection of the English it was decided,[1] and this upon the decision of the Court of Directors (Lr. Ct. Drs. 11th of November, 1768), that he forfeited Allahabad and Corah, as well as his tribute.

Now was to be decided the fate of the Rohillahs. First attacked by the emperor and the Mahrattahs, they were to be annihilated for the vizier. Colonel Champion, the commander-in-chief, with the 2nd brigade of infantry,[2] attacked the forty thousand Rohillahs under Hafiz Ruhmet, on the 23rd of April, 1774, near the Babul nulla, in Rohilcund. They were defeated, and the chief killed. Colonel Alexander Champion was so disgusted with the whole affair, that he resigned his command on the 29th December in the same year.

The important point as to the succession to the office of peshwah, was next agitated. In 1761, was fought the battle of Panniput. Bajeerao, peshwah, left a son, whom his father called Ballajee Bajeerao. The Bhow, killed at Panniput,

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 580.

[2] Six battalions of infantry, a company of artillery, and a troop of cavalry.

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was his cousin, whose death, and the disgrace and danger of the Mahrattah state, was caused by grief.[1] Upon the death of Narrain Rao, his successor, who died at the age of eighteen years, Rugoba, his uncle, who had been regent (and caused his death[2]), was immediately acknowledged peishwa.

It appears[3] that "in the end of September, 1761, Mahdoo Rao, the second son of the late peishwa (Ballajee Rao) then in his seventeenth year, proceeded to Satara, accompanied by his uncle, Rugonath Rao, and received investiture as peishwa, from the nominal raja (of Satara), who remained precisely in the same state of imprisonment under the obdurate Tara Bye,[4] as before described, until her demise, which happened in the month of December following, at the great age of eighty-six. To the last moment of her existence, she maintained her inveteracy against Ballajee Rao and Sewdasheo Rao, declaring that she expired contented having lived to hear of their misfortunes and death. The raja's condition was after-

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 594.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 599; and Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 250.

[3] Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 161.

[4] Widow of Raja Ram, first regent, and afterwards peshwa He died in 1700.—Duff, vol. i. p 39.

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wards so far improved, that he was brought down from the fort, and suffered to live a prisoner at large in the town of Satara. At a subsequent period he was permitted by Mahdoo Rao, to appoint agents for the management of his patell dues in several villages, and the collection of his other hereditary claims as deshmookh of Indepoor."

"Rugonath Rao, naturally fond of power, contemplated, with no small satisfaction, the prospect of gratifying his favourite inclination, during the minority of his nephew. When the preparations of Nizam Ally gave reason to expect a rupture with the Moghuls, he became desirous of putting an end to some existing disputes between the presidency of Bombay and Ramjee Punt, and Ramjee Punt the soobahdar of the Concan." Subsequently "Rugonath Rao, being ill-prepared to resist the expected invasion of the Moghuls, wished eventually to obtain from Bombay some European soldiers and guns, and prolonged the negociation for that purpose, by sending another wukeel to Bombay, on pretence of making some alterations in the agreement, but in reality to negociate for military aid. The English East India Company, from the example of their great

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commercial rivals the Dutch, had early been desirous of obtaining territory." "They had been extremely solicitous to obtain possession of the island of Salsette and the fort of Bassein, not only on account of the advantages expected from the revenue, but as advanced positions essentially necessary to the security of the island and harbour of Bombay. The overtures of Rugonath Rao, therefore, met with the readiest attention; but, although he offered to cede territory yielding revenue of 150,000 rupees at Jumboseer, and to make several other concessions, yet as the favourite island of Salsette was not of the number, the alliance was suspended."

"As the danger from the threatened invasion increased, the overtures were renewed; even Salsette was offered, and though not an accredited agent, the president and council were sanguine in their hope of accomplishing the object; especially, as by every succeeding day's account, the Mahrattahs, without aid from the English, were likely to be completely worsted. No period, indeed, for the last forty years had been more favourable for the restoration of the Moghul authority in the Deccan. The loss of the battle of Panniput was imputed by the Mahrattah silli-

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dars[1] solely to the misconduct of the Bramins; the Bramins of the Desh, or country above the Ghauts, acknowledged the fact, but declared that it was to be ascribed entirely to the mismanagement of their brethren of the Concan."

The young peishwa had been (1762) out to the southern territory to collect the revenue. "Shortly after the return of Mahdoo Rao to Poona[2] disputes arose between him and his uncle, in consequence of Mahdoo Rao's desire to be admitted[3] to a share in the administration. Rugonath Rao as well as Sukaram Bappoo, and several other ministers were much offended at his presumption; conceiving that affairs could not be conducted without them, they threw up their situations, but Sukaram Bappoo, whose object was to keep well with both parties, resigned, as if a matter to which he was compelled, and always contrived, as far as he was himself concerned, to keep open the door of reconciliation. Mahdoo Rao, in the promptest manner, requested Trimback Rao Mama to act in the situation of dewan;" and it is worthy of remark, as extremely creditable to the selection of so young a man, that Ballajee Jenardin Bhanoo,

[1] Horsemen who provide a horse at their own expense.
[2] Duff vol. ii. p. 167. [3] Then eighteen years of age.

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already mentioned, and afterwards well known as Nana Furnuwees, and Hurry Punt Phurkay, were at this period employed as personal Carkoons[1] by Mahdoo Rao."

At length Rugonath Rao[2] placed Mahdoo Rao in confinement, and appointed Sukaram one of his principal ministers, bestowing on him a jaghier of nine lakhs of rupees. Mahdoo Rao being now in the exercise of his office, hearing of a rebellion under his uncle Rugonath Rao, attacked and defeated him, and conveyed him a prisoner to Poona.[3] Mahdoo Rao[4] died on the 18th November, 1772. The confinement of Rugonath Rao had been relaxed prior to the death of Mahdoo Rao. "Rugonath Rao was sent for to Theur,[5] a reconciliation took place, and Mahdoo Rao in presence of Sukaram Bappoo, recommended his brother, in an impressive manner, to the care and protection of his uncle (Rugonath Rao). Narrain Rao, the nephew,[6] early in December repaired to Satara, where he was invested as peishwa by the raja. Sukaram Bappoo received the clothes of

[1] Clerks. [2] Duff, vol. ii. p. 169. [3] Vol. ii. p. 200.
[4] Vol. ii. p. 227. [5] Vol. ii. p. 242.
[6] The youngest of the three sons of Ballajee Bajee Rao. Wiswas Rao, the eldest, fell at Panniput, (1761), the second just dead.

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prime minister, and Nana Furnuwees was recognised in the hereditary situation of his family."

The new peishwa and Rugonath Rao continued for some time in apparent amity; but the mother of the one, the wife of the other, and the jealousy of the Bramin ministers, would probably have created discord between men of better temper and stronger judgment. Rugonath Rao, with the consent of all, except Sukaram Bappoo, who objected to the violence of the measure, was again made prisoner on the 11th of April, and confined in an apartment of the same palace in which Narrain Rao, when at Poona, usually resided. Nana Furnuwees stood high in the young peishwa's estimation, but Bujaba Poorundhuree and Hurry Punt Phurkay were his chief confidants. The principal state affairs continued ostensibly to be transacted by Sukaram Bappoo, but the favourites were inimical to his administration. Narrain Rao was particularly ambitious of military fame.[1]

At length, says Duff,[2] "The attention of all

[1] Duff says, vol. ii. p. 228, of his brother and predecessor "Although the military talents of Mahdoo Rao were very considerable, his character as a sovereign is entitled to far higher praise."

[2] Vol. ii. p. 245.

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India was arrested, and there was a momentary pause in the bustle of political affairs by reports, which proved correct, of the murder of Narrain Rao Peishwa on the 30th of August." (1773.)

"It appeared, that on the morning of that day, there had been considerable commotion amongst the regular infantry in the peishwa's service, and it increased so much towards noon, that after an interview with Rughoojee Angria, who had just arrived from Kolabah to pay his respects, Narrain Rao, before he went to dinner, told Hurry Punt Phurkay to take some precautions in case of disturbance, meaning, that he should secure the palace. Hurry Punt, however, thoughtlessly neglected these orders, and went to dine with a friend in the neighbourhood.[1] The peishwa, in the afternoon, had retired to repose in his private apartments, when he was awoke by a great tumult in the palace, caused by a large body of infantry, who, having continued their clamours for pay throughout the day, were at last, about two o'clock, led to the palace by Somer Sing and Mahummud Yeesoof, on pretence of demanding their arrears. Khurruck Sing, one of their num-

[1] Hurry Punt was "accused of being one of the partisans of Rugoba, which decidedly was not the case."

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ber, who commanded at the palace-guard, joined them; but, instead of entering at the large gate on the north side, to which there was no impediment, they made their way by an unfinished door-way on the east side, which, together with the wall surrounding the palace, had been pulled down a short time before, to make an entrance distinct from that of the quarter inhabited by Rugonath Rao. Narrain Rao, on starting from sleep, neither resolved on concealment nor defence, but ran to his uncle's apartments, and being closely pursued by Somer Sing, he threw himself into his uncle's arms, and called on him to save him. Rugonath Rao did interfere, and begged of them to spare him. "I have not gone thus far to insure my own destruction;" replied Somer Sing: "Let him go, or you shall die with him." Rugonath Rao disengaged himself, and got out upon the terrace; Narrain Rao attempted to follow him, but Truleea Powar, one of the Mahrattah domestics of Rugonath Rao, who was armed, seized him by the legs and pulled him down, at which instant another domestic, named Chapajee Teleekur, in the service of Narrain Rao, entered the apartment, and, although unarmed, ran forward to his master, who clasped his arms about

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his neck, when Somer Sing and Truleea Powar despatched them both with their swords. Whilst this was passing in the interior, the whole of the outer wall of the palace was secured by the conspirators; the people in the city heard of a tumult, armed men thronged in the streets, the shops were shut, and the inhabitants ran to and fro in consternation, asking what had happened. Sukaram Bappoo repaired to the kotwal's chowkee, or office of the police magistrate, where word being brought to him that Rugonath Rao was not only alive, but had sent assurances to the people that all was quiet, and had even invited some of them to go inside; Sukaram directed Hurry Punt Phurkay to write a note to Rugonath Rao in his name, which Rugonath Rao answered in his own handwriting, informing him of the murder of his nephew by some of the gardees (regular infantry). Hurry Punt Phurkay then declared, that suspicions which he had entertained of Rugonath Rao, were confirmed, and alarmed for his personal safety, he instantly fled to Baramuthee. Sukaram Bappoo tranquillised the minds of the people, by recommending them to go to their homes, and to remain quiet, when nothing should molest them. Bujaba Poorund-

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huree and Mallojee Ghorepuray, had an interview with Rugoba Rao that night, and Trimback Rao Mama repairing to the palace, bore off the body of the unfortunate peishwa, and performed the funeral obsequies."

"Visitors were admitted to the palace; Mr. Mostyn,[1] the English envoy, and the different wukeels, paid their respects, but Rugonath Rao remained in confinement, detained, as was pretended, by the conspirators, as a security for the payment of their arrears. Rugonath Rao was suspected, but there was no proof of his being the author of the outrage. It was well known that he had an affection for his nephew, and the ministers, considering the extreme jealousy with which many of them viewed each other, are entitled to some praise, for having adopted a resolution on the occasion equally sound and politic. They were generally of opinion, that whilst there remained a shadow of doubt, it was on every account advisable to support Rugoba's right to the succession; to this Ram Shastree, who was consulted, made no objections, but diligently instituted a search into the whole transaction. About six weeks after the event, having obtained proofs against Rugo-

[1] Sent by the Bombay Government.

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nath Rao, the shastree waited upon him, and accused him of having given an authority to Somer Sing and Mohummud Yeesoof to commit the deed. Rugonath Rao is said to have acknowledged to Ram Shastree, that he had written an order to those men, authorizing them to seize, but that he never had given the order to kill him. This admission is generally supposed to have been literally true; for by the original paper, afterwards recovered by Ram Shastree, it was found that the word, *dhurawe*, to seize, was altered *marawe*, to kill. It is universally believed, that the alteration was made by the infamous Anundee Bye;[1] and although Rugonath Rao's own conduct, in subsequently withholding protection, even at the hazard of his life, sufficiently justifies the suspicion of his being fully aware of it, the moderate and general opinion in the Mahrattah country is that he did not intend to murder his nephew; that he was exasperated by his confinement, and excited by the desperate counsels of his wife, to whom is also attributed the activity of the domestic, Truleea Powar,[2] who was set on by the vindictive malice of that bad woman."

[1] Wife of Rugonath Rao.

[2] He was executed for the murder of Narrain Rao, several years afterwards, by Nana Furnuwees.

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The arrears of the troops were discharged, Rugonath Rao was released,[1] and proclaimed peishwa. Sukaram Bappoo was confirmed as Karbaree.[2] Narrain Rao was murdered in the eighteenth year of his age.

The principal persons of the Poona ministry at this time were[3] Sukaram Bappoo, Trimback Rao Mama, the two Furnuwees's, Nana and Moraba, Bujaba Poorundhuree, Anund Rao Jewajee, and Hurry Punt Phurkay; all men raised by the present family of peishwas—totally distinct from the eight Purdhans of Sivajee and Shao. There was evidently to all but Rugoba and his immediate dependents, some scheme in agitation. Some supposed the ministers intended to release the raja (of Satara); others that a person assuming the name of Sewdashee Rao Bhow[4] was to be set up as peishwa in the room of Rugonath Rao. The development, however, of their real plans soon put an end to surmises. It having been discovered, that Gunga Bye, the widow of Narrain Rao, was pregnant, it was resolved, on pretence of carrying her to a place of safety to convey her to the fort of Poorundhur.

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 250.
[2] Or Dewan.
[3] Duff, vol. ii. p. 258.
[4] Killed at Panniput.

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But it is generally believed that the real motive was to disguise an intention they had formed, of eventually exchanging the infant of Gunga Bye, in case of its proving a female, by substituting a male child. For this purpose several Bramin women, in a state of pregnancy, are said to have been conveyed into the fort at the same time. Gunga Bye herself was carried off from Poona by Nana Furnuwees and Hurry Punt Phurkay, on the morning of the 30th January (1774), but the reason of her removal was publicly announced. Parwuttee Bye, the widow of Sewdasheo Rao, a lady very much respected, accompanied her. The ministers forming themselves into a sort of regency under Gunga Bye, began to govern the country in her name. All the adherents of Rugonath Rao were thrown into confinement. Negotiations were opened with Nizam Ally and Sabajee Bhonslay,[1] both of whom agreed to support the widow's pretensions. The birth of Mahdoo Rao Narrain, on the 18th April (1774), gave a finishing blow to his ever being recognised as peishwa.[2] Notwithstanding the suspicions created by the scheme which was

[1] Soon after had the dignity of Sena Sahib Soobeh conferred on him.

[2] Duff, vol. ii. p. 264.

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adopted for eventually imposing upon the country, there is very little doubt but that the child was the son of the murdered Narrain Rao. Sukaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuwees were deputed by Gunga Bye to receive the clothes of investiture for her son, which were sent from Satara by the raja.[1] The infant was formally installed as peishwa, when he was forty days old.

The ministers very soon became jealous of each other: Nana Furnuwees was too cautious to take the lead in an infant government; but, like the generality of men who have risen by revolution, and who seldom appear in the foreground, he supported Sukaram Bappoo as the person likely to have most weight and consideration with the public. This conduct in him proceeded as much from timidity as design. Sukaram was an old, cautious, time-serving courtier,[2] but he was a man of much more courage than Nana Furnuwees,[3] and, in the humble and assiduous attention of his colleague and adherent, he did not foresee a

[1] One of the descendants of the founder of the Mahrattah empire: the peishwa was his prime minister.

[2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 598, says, "Sukaram Bappoo, who had been raised by Rugoba from a menial service in his household, to the office of dewan or financial minister of state.

[3] Duff, vol. ii. 157, "amongst the first of the fugitives from the battle of Panniput.

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future rival and a powerful foe. Duff adds "one circumstance, not generally known, which was used by Nana Furnuwees as an instrument of ambition, was the power he had acquired over the mind of the regent, Gunga Bye; for, although a profound secret at the time, the young widow was deeply enamoured of Nana Furnuwees, and was taught by him the best means of governing the old minister. Moraba, the cousin of Nana, who had been the ostensible prime minister of Mahdoo Rao, was dissatisfied on finding little deference paid to his counsel, and would readily have returned to Rugonath Rao, if he could have effected it with safety, and insured his future power. Such of the other ministers as would not submit to Sukaram and Nana were soon united in common discontent. The cabal, in short, divided into two parties, and their disagreement became generally known by the discovery of a correspondence on the part of Moraba Bujaba and Babajee Naik with the ex-peishwa." From intercepted letters, it appeared that these three had formed a plan for securing the persons of Sukaram Bappoo, Nana Furnuwees, Gunga Bye and her son, then residing in the village of Sassoor. Thus, it appeared that the Mahrattahs

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were disputing who should be the head of their nation. The English had long taken a lead in the affairs of the Mohammedan: and why not play the best card in the Mahrattah game of policy!

The emperor, Shah Allum, had resided at Allahabad for several years under the protection of the English government. Nujub-ud-dowla, the Rohillah, left as imperial deputy at Delhi upon the departure of Shah Abdallee, had, by his wisdom and vigour, preserved order and tranquillity in that part of Hindostan. He died in 1770, when the ambition of Shah Allum stimulated him to the hazardous project of courting the Mahrattahs to assist him in returning to Delhi as emperor. We were assisting Rugonath Rao to return to the throne of Poona!

The emperor, in the beginning of the year 1771,[1] had sent his minister to Calcutta to obtain, "if not the assistance, at least the approbation of the English to his projected expedition, and was not restrained by their dissuasions." It seeems that Tukajee Holkar, Madhajee Sindhia, and Kishn Visajee, officers of the peshwa (Mahdoo Rao), were in 1769 sent with an army of three hundred thousand horse into Hindostan,

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 546.

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to recover the influence the Mahrattahs had lost by their defeat at Panniput (1761), and to exact revenge upon the Rohillahs for the aid they had given to the Abdali (king of Cabool). It was for the easier accomplishment of these objects that they (Mahrattahs) undertook to replace Shah Allum on the throne of Delhi.[1]

By the exertions of the Moghul nobles, and the assistance of the vizier, the emperor was enabled, in 1771, to march from Allahabad at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men. The death of Nujub-ud-dowla was a great loss to the imperial cause. The emperor made his entry into Delhi on the 25th December, 1771. It was decided (11th November, 1768), that if the emperor threw himself "into the hands of the Mahrattahs, or any other power," the government would pay the tribute of twenty-six lakhs of rupees no more.[2] The Mahrattahs soon induced the emperor to take the field. "The country of the Rohillahs[3] was the object of cupidity to both." "The united power of the emperor and Mahrattahs, Zebita Khan, though he

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 222. [2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 580.

[3] I believe to have been those Affghans left by, or who declined to return to Cabool with, Ahmed Shah. Mill, vol. iii. p. 549.

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made a spirited defence, was unable to withstand. He was overcome in battle, and fled across the Ganges, in hopes to defend what territories he possessed on the opposite side." The Rohillahs were roused by the news of the attack upon Zebita Khan. "They proposed an union of councils and of arms with the subahdar of Oude, to whom the establishment of the Mahrattahs upon his frontier was, they knew, an object equally of danger and alarm." He was thrown into great consternation and embarrassment. Early in January, 1772, he pressed for an interview with the English general, Sir Robert Barker, who was then on his route to Allahabad, and met him on the 20th of the same month at Fyzabad. Sir R. Barker[1] strongly urged upon Suja-uddowla, the necessity of protecting the Rohillahs, "the weakness of whom became the strength of the Mahrattahs, and enabled them, if their departure were purchased, to return to the seizure of the country whenever they pleased." The vizier made a hard bargain with the Rohillahs, and they made a "promise to pay to the vizier forty lakhs of rupees, on condition that he should expel the Mahrattahs from the Rohillah terri-

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 554.

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tories." The vizier made no effort to expel the Mahrattahs. The emperor, after his operations against the Rohillahs, returned to Delhi, and became an instrument in the hands of the Mahrattahs. They tried to extort from him the grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad.[1] They were destined for the vizier of Oude. We considered the emperor to have forfeited those provinces, as well as the share of the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; probably it was, as one reason, judged that the enrichment of the emperor would be to aid our enemies (Mahrattahs), in fact, that the emperor was in their hands, and only a *nominal* sovereign.

The Mahrattahs now returned to the banks of the Ganges, which they prepared to cross. The vizier was thrown into a great alarm, and "wrote repeated letters to the Bengal government to send a military force to his protection." The Mahrattahs engaged not to commit any depredations on the Rohillahs, provided they would yield a "free passage through their dominions into the territory of the vizier."[2] The vizier was alarmed

[1] They were sold to the vizier, in 1773 for fifty lahks of rupees. Mill, vol. iii. p. 568.

[2] Letter of Hafez Ruhmet himself.

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at any such union of the Mahrattahs and Rohillahs. "The obligation under which the English were placed to aid the vizier in the defence of his own territory, and their opinion of the advantage of supporting him against the Mahrattahs, induced them to send Sir R. Baker, with a part of the army."[1] The Mahrattahs overran a great part of Rohilcund. In the month of May (1773), the "domestic affairs of the Mahrattahs recalled them wholly to their own country."

On the departure of the Mahrattahs, a meeting was concerted between the vizier and the governor-general. It took place at Benares, in September, 1773. In his report of the 4th October, 1773, to the council, he says, "The vizier was at first very desirous of the assistance of an English force to put him in possession of the Rohillah country, lying north of his dominions and east of the Ganges. This has long been a favourite object of his wishes; and you will recollect that the first occasion of my last visit was furnished by a proposal of this kind." Hastings[2] wrote, "I found him still bent on the design of reducing

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 561.

[2] Appeal 3rd Dec. 1774, to the Court Directors. Mill, p. 563, *note*, 2.

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the Rohillahs, *which I encouraged*, as I had done before, by dwelling on the advantages which he would derive from its success." "Money," adds Mill, "was the motive to this eager passion for the ruin of the Rohillahs." We had then a bond debt amounting to a hundred and twenty-five lakhs of rupees (£1,250,000), notwithstanding one of our three brigades was paid for by the vizier.

In Jan., 1774, the second of the three brigades of the Company's Bengal army, received orders to join the vizier,[1] and Colonel Champion, now commander-in-chief, "proceeded in the middle of February to assume the command. On the 24th February, the brigade arrived within the territory of the vizier; and on the 17th of April, the united forces entered the Rohillah dominions. On the 19th, Colonel Champion wrote to the presidency, that the Rohillah leader was inclined to come to an accommodation "with the vizier, but that the nabob claimed no less than *two crore* of rupees (£2,000,000). The Rohillahs, after this extravagant demand, prepared for action. Early on the morning of the 23rd, the English advanced to the attack. "Hafez," says the Eng-

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 572.

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lish general, with a generous esteem, "and his army, consisting of about forty thousand men,[1] showed great bravery and resolution, annoying us with their artillery and rockets. They made repeated attempts to charge, but our guns, being so much better served than theirs, kept so constant and galling a fire, that they could not advance; and where they were closest was the greatest slaughter." They tried to turn both our flanks at the same time, and kept up a brisk fire on our centre. Above two thousand of them fell in the field, and many sirdars, and Hafez Ruhmet fell, bravely rallying his men. The vizier and his troops kept at a respectful distance from the scene of action. Colonel Champion, in his letter to Warren Hastings, 24th April, 1774, says, "*We had the honour of the day, and these banditti* (vizier's) *the profit.*" The colonel is stated to have remarked in a letter to a friend, that such an action was a disgrace to us upon our saint's day (*St. George's Day*). He was so disgusted, it is said, that he resigned at the end of the year.

[1] The English had about 5,000 men, all natives.

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CHAPTER II.

RETURNING TO THE MAHRATTAHS AND RUGOBA.

The Court of Directors on the 1st of April, 1772, directed that a resident envoy should be appointed to the peishwa's (Mahdoo Rao) court;[1] and Mr. Thomas Mostyn, of the Bombay civil service, was selected by the court for this important duty. The declared intention was for the purpose of acquiring, from time to time, "upon safe and honourable terms, such privileges and rights as might be beneficial to their commerce, and of security to their possessions, by maintaining a friendly intercourse with all the native powers, but carefully abstaining from active alliance with any. The resident was instructed[2] to communicate to Madras and Bengal direct, all intelligence he could procure, relative to the designs of the Mahrattahs of a nature likely to affect those presidencies; but the principal objects of the mission were to obtain possession of

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 270.

[2] As is usual.

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the island of Salsette, the port of Bassein, and the small islands of Kenery, Hog island, Elephanta, and Caranja." Permission for the envoy to reside at Poona was granted by Mahdoo Rao, and Mr. Mostyn arrived there a few days prior to that peishwa's death; otherwise, it was Mr. Mostyn's opinion, the succeeding administration would not have allowed him to remain.

Rugoba had raised troops, but instead of marching boldly to Poona, the Mahrattah capital, he moved to the northward, as far as Malwa; there, after he had recruited his forces, he resolved to recross the Nerbuddah, and took up a position on the Taptee. He renewed his overtures to the English, through the civil governor of Surat. Rugoba's agent informed Mr. Gambier, that the ex-peishwa was desirous of entering on a treaty for the purpose of being furnished with a sufficient force "to carry him to Poona, and establish him in the government, for which he would defray the charges of the expedition, make very considerable grants to the Company, and enter into any terms of friendship and alliance the president and council at Bombay might choose." This acceptable proposal was received at Bombay on the 6th September, 1774, when

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the president and council agreed to assist Rugoba with all the troops they could spare, which amounted to about two thousand five hundred men, "on the condition that he should advance fifteen or twenty lakhs of rupees; and on being established in the government at Poona, cede to the Honourable Company, in perpetuity, Salsette, the small islands contiguous to Bombay, and Bassein, with its dependencies. The Mahrattah share of revenue in Surat and Baroach was, if possible, to be obtained, and also protection from Mahrattah inroads into the Bengal provinces,[1] and the possessions of the nabob of the Carnatic."

Rugoba declined to give up Bassein and Salsette. He offered to cede districts and claims in Guzerat, and "to pay six lakhs of rupees in advance, one lakh and a-half monthly, for the expense of one thousand Europeans, two thousand sepoys, and fifteen guns.[2] The government agreed to part of these propositions;" "but at this stage of the negotiation, they were alarmed

[1] The Mahrattah ditch at Calcutta, made about thirty years before this period.

[2] A good notion as to the proportion of artillery required for bodies of disciplined troops, in battles against very superior numbers.

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by the receipt of intelligence from the envoy at Goa, that the *Portuguese* government had sent a formidable armament from Europe, for the avowed purpose of recovering their lost possessions, including Salsette and Bassein." This alarmed even the Poona ministers, and they reinforced the garrison of Tannah with five hundred men."

The Bombay government resolved to anticipate the Portuguese,[1] and Brigadier-General Robert Gordon was employed in an expedition, consisting of six hundred and twenty Europeans, including artillery, one thousand sepoys, and two hundred gun Lascars, to take Tannah, and Commodore Watson commanded the naval part of the force. The expedition proceeded on the 12th Dec., 1774, and next day, a part of the Portuguese fleet anchored in the mouth of the harbour of Bombay, and formally protested against their proceedings. Finally, the place was taken, after a second assault. Another detachment, under Lieut.-Colonel Keating was sent to take possession of the fort of Versovah, on the northern extremity of Salsette. The island of Caranja was also occupied, and the whole of Salsette reduced before New Year's Day, 1775. The Court

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 277.

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of Directors had, in a letter, dated 18th March, 1768, written to Bombay that they rather wished[1] "they could be obtained by purchase than war."

In the meantime, the negotiations with Rugoba were continued, but the ministers had secretly engaged Sindia and Holkar in their interests, and collected an army of about 30,000 men. Thus they were prepared for *peace* or for *war*. The Mahrattah navy in the ministerial interest, at the commencement of the war,[2] consisted of six ships, one of forty-six guns, one of thirty-eight, one of thirty-two, and two of twenty-six guns; and ten armed vessels, mounting each from two to nine guns, besides swivels. In an action with Commodore Moor, the forty-six gun vessel blew up, and the rest escaped. We read in Mill,[3] that the Mahrattahs, as early as the time of Sivajee,[4] had raised something of a fleet, to protect them against the enterprise of the Siddees. There was an admiral, who quarrelled with the Mahrattah government, and revolted with the greater part of the fleet. He set the Mahrattah state at defiance, and made himself master of the coast to

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 603.
[2] Duff, vol. ii. p. 304.
[3] Mill, vol. iii. p. 170.
[4] He died 1682.

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the extent of sixty leagues from Tannah to Rajapore. The Mahrattahs compounded with him by receiving a small annual tribute as a mark of subjection. This rebel was named Conajee Angria, a pirate by trade. The English and Mahrattahs had made several attempts to extirpate these corsairs without effect, till 1755, "when an English squadron under Commodore James, and a land army of Mahrattahs, attacked Severndroog, and took it, as well as the fort Bancooti. Towards the conclusion of 1755, Admiral Watson with his fleet, and Colonel Clive with his forces, arrived at Bombay. On the 11th February, 1756, the fleet, consisting of eight ships, besides a grab, and five bomb ketches, having on board eight hundred Europeans and one thousand sepoys, commanded by Colonel Clive, arrived at Gheriah; while a Mahrattah army approached on the other side. Angria, after a violent cannonade, surrendered himself into the hands of the Mahrattahs, and the fort was given up. Hyder Ali Khan was of opinion, that without a navy he could not do anything against the English; and both he and Tippoo built many ships. These pirates, not many years after, captured one of our vessels, and annoyed trading vessels.

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In June 1775, on the side of Rugoba,[1] everything seemed favourable. The state of the young peishwa's affairs wore an aspect proportionably unpromising. Then, later,[2] the cause of Rugoba was extremely unpopular.

By a treaty dated 6th March, 1775,[3] at Surat, where Rugoba had fled to, he yielded up Salsette and Bassein, and the Mahrattah share of the revenue of Baroach. The council of Fort William at first disapproved of the measure. In 1776, the council of Bengal resolved "to support the cause of Rugoba with the utmost vigour, and with a general exertion of the whole power of the English arms in India." This seems to have arisen from their agent, Colonel Upton, having, on the 7th February, 1776, written that "the chiefs of this country (Poona) are quite at a loss which side to take, and are waiting to see what the English will do."

In 1774, a doubt arose in the council of Bombay as to the operation of the act of parliament of 1773,[4] which rendered the presidencies of Madras and Bombay subordinate to Bengal; for Warren Hastings was, in 1772, appointed go-

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 305.
[2] Duff, vol. ii. p. 306.
[3] Mill, vol. iii. p. 609.
[4] Duff, vol. ii. p. 275.

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vernor-general of India. But, as the arrival of the members appointed from Europe was not known, the Bombay government considered that there was no "Supreme parliamentary council" in India. Mr. Hastings had been [1] one of the first to recommend a controlling authority in India, and the additional members had not arrived at Calcutta. Colonel Upton had arrived at Poorundhur, near Poona, on the 28th December, 1775. In 1776, when Colonel Upton proposed the retention of Salsette, &c., the cession of Bassein, and the revenues of Baroach, the Mahrattah ministers affected to consider such an application as perfectly unauthorised. In fact, "they demanded the immediate surrender of the delinquent Rugoba, and the entire restoration of the territory occupied by the Bombay government since the commencement of the war." They seconded their arguments with threats, and mistook the mild remonstrances of the envoy for timidity. Colonel Upton [2] conceiving the nego-

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 515. General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis did not arrive in Calcutta till the 19th October, 1774. The Bombay discussion was on the 6th September, 1774.

[2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 320.

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tiation at an end, expressed this opinion to the governor-general and council in a letter, dated 7th February, when they immediately determined to support the cause of Rugoba with the utmost vigour. They prepared troops for embarkation, ordered a large supply of treasure to be transmitted to Bombay, and directed troops to be sent from Madras. They wrote letters to Rugoba, to Nizam Ally, and Hyder; and endeavoured, in the same manner, to induce Moodajee Bhonslay, Mahadajee Sindia, and Tookajee Holkar to embrace their cause, or, at all events, to engage their neutrality."

This decision in his favour by the supreme government raised the spirits and expectations of Rugoba; but the ministers, almost immediately after they had carried their menaces to the highest pitch, acceded at once to the greater part of Colonel Upton's original demands; and before accounts had time to reach Calcutta, that the negotiation was broken off, the treaty of Poorundhur was settled. It was signed on the 1st March, 1776, and consisted of nineteen articles, but two of them were afterwards erased by mutual consent, and an additional clause signed. The treaty was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Upton, on the

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part of the Company's government, and by Sukaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuwees, on that of the peishwa's; but the titles of Rao Pundit Purdhan are only mentioned in the treaty, the name of the peishwa having been omitted."

Duff states previously[1] "that Sukaram Bappoo was originally concerned in Rugoba's conspiracy against the liberty, though not the life, of Narrain Rao. After the murder, as it was deemed, by the ministers generally, a measure of prudence to affect a disbelief of Rugonath Rao's participation: of course Sukaram had stronger reasons than any of them for possessing that opinion." Mill states[2] that the treaty of Poorundhur "had left the minds of the governing party at Poona, and those of the Bombay residency, in a state of mutual jealousy and dissatisfaction. The occupation of Salsette, and the other concessions which had been extorted, but above all, the countenance and protection still afforded to Rugoba, rankled in the minds of the Poona ministry; while the Bombay rulers, condemned and frustrated by the supreme council, but encouraged by the approbation of the Court of Directors, stood upon the watch for any plausible opportunity of evading or infringing

[1] Duff, vol. iii. p. 314. [2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 31.

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the treaty. Colonel Upton, though he remained at Poona till the commencement of the year 1777, departed before any of the material stipulations had been carried into effect."

We have seen that Nana Furnuwees, one of the ministers who signed the treaty, is the person, of whom Duff says,[1] "the young widow (of the late peishwa Mahdoo Rao) was deeply enamoured of Nana Furnuwees, and was taught by him the best means of governing the old minister. Moraba, the cousin of Nana, who had been the ostensible prime minister of Mahdoo Rao, was dissatisfied on finding little deference paid to his counsel, and would readily have returned to Rugonath Rao, if he could have effected it with safety, and insured his future power. Such of the other ministers as would not submit to Sukaram and Nana, were soon united in common discontent. The cabal, in short, divided into two parties, and their disagreement became generally known by the discovery of a correspondence on the part of Moraba, Bujàba and Bubajee Naik, with the ex-peishwa. It appeared, from letters intercepted by Hurry Punt, that these three had formed a plan for securing the persons of Suka-

[1] Mill, vol. ii. p. 216.

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ram Bappoo, Nana Furnuwees, Gunga Bye, and her son."

Now Duff next states [1] A.D. 1778, that, "in the meantime dissensions among the parties at Poona continued to increase. Nana Furnuwees despised the abilities of his cousin (Moraba Furnuwees), but, with a Brahmin's caution, he was at more pains to conceal his contempt than his enmity. Moraba was supported by all the partisans of Rugoba, particularly Buchaba, Poorundhuree, Sukaram Hurry, Chintoo Mittul, and Wishnoo Nerhur. This faction gained Tookajee Holkar, whose defection, from the cause of the ministers became avowed, by his excusing himself when ordered to support Hurry Punt Phurkay in the Carnatic. The English envoy attributed the confidence he could perceive in Nana to an assurance of support from France. Immediately after the death of Gunga Bye, Sukaram Bappoo began to be jealous of his hitherto humble colleague, [2] and now united, by cautiously and with no decision, in a plan for the restoration of Rugoba. Moraba [3] made the proposal to the Bombay government, and requested that the government would imme-

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 349. [2] Nana Furnuwees.
[3] Cousin of Nana Furnuwees.

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diately bring Rugoba to Poona. Preparations were accordingly begun, and the president and council determined to afford their assistance without delay. Their resolve was approved of by the supreme government; and it was determined at Bengal, in consequence of the war in which they were about to engage on the west of India, as well as the apprehended schemes of the French, in the same quarter, to support the Bombay presidency with six battalions of sepoys, &c., from Bengal." The Bombay government agreed to aid the scheme of Moraba, with the promise that Sukaram Bappoo, the principal authority in signing the treaty of Poorundhur, should state in writing, "that the invitation was made at his desire. This decided declaration Sukaram, unfortunately for himself, refused, and the plan was, in consequence, suspended; but it was the deliberate opinion of the Bombay government that their own safety depended on their effecting a change in the Poona administration. The complex political machine which Nana[1] Furnuwees managed on this emergency with consummate artifice, was at first a little deranged by a pre-

[1] In which all branches of the Mahrattahs claimed to have a voice.

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mature attempt to apprehend Moraba, who made his escape from Poona." "Nana, through Sukaram Bappoo, persuaded his cousin to return, and it was agreed that a new ministry should be formed, including Moraba and Bujaba Poorundhuree; but Bujaba was not so easily persuaded; and Sukaram Hurry nobly declared that nothing should ever induce him to abjure the cause of a generous master, who had been his protector from youth to manhood; that Rugonath Rao was a soldier, and Nana a cunning, cowardly courtier.[1] Moraba's party, by the aid of Holkar's troops, obtained the complete ascendency; and Nana, who was obliged to retire to Poorundhur, pretended to acquiesce in the plan for conducting Rugoba to Poona, on condition of obtaining security for himself and property. The Bombay government again received notice to prepare; but the weak Moraba imagined that he had attained his object, and fancied himself at the head of the administration. Nana affected his usual deference for Sukaram's opinion, and was scrupulously respectful to his cousin. Consultations took place respecting the restoration of Rugonath Rao, and Moraba began to perceive the force of Nana's

[1] One of the first to fly from the battle of Panniput.

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objections. He could not but recollect that when he was minister under Mahdoo Rao, the conduct of Rugonath Rao had invariably tended to dissension, loss, or dishonour. He, therefore, though still pretending to be desirous of re-installing Rugoba, began to evade the question, when pressed by his English friends.

A majority of the council in Bombay, seeing that their hopes from Moraba's party had vanished, soothing themselves with the hope of a continuance of peace with France, and with an idea of being able, through Moraba, to destroy the influence of the French, at Poona, came to a resolution on the 22nd April of countermanding Colonel Leslie's detachment; but on the 3rd May, they reversed this resolution, and directed Colonel Leslie to advance. Then came a second revolution at Poonah.

Saint Lubin's[1] dismissal from Poona had been promised. He had proposed to assist the Mahrattahs with French troops. Duff says, Nana Furnuwees's jealousy of Europeans "would never have admitted a French force sufficiently strong even for the expulsion of the English from the small settlement of Bombay, unless he could have

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 352, French agent.

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been certain of crushing them afterwards. Nana Furnuwees never entirely believed that St. Lubin could bring troops;" and that the impostor adopted the deception of writing to Goa and Damaun for permission to pass two French regiments through the Portuguese territories. His letters were intercepted by the English. Nana had reassumed his former power, occupied the principal passes in the country with his troops, and through Sindia's influence, and by a bribe of nine lakhs rupees, detached Holkar from the confederacy.

The rivalship between Sukaram Baboo[1] and Nana Furnuwees had produced a division in the council of Poona; a part of the ministers, with Sukaram Baboo at their head, had resolved to declare for Rugoba, and they had applied for the assistance of the English to place in his hands the powers of government. Originally the treaty (Poorundhur) had been signed by both Sukaram Baboo and Nana Furnuwees. Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler disapproved of the conduct of the Bombay government, which had resolved to co-operate with the ministers who were in favour of Rugoba. Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell were in

[1] Mill, vol, iv. p. 34.

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favour[1] of supporting Rugoba, and finally determined that a force of six battalions of sepoys, one company of native artillery, and a corps of cavalry should be sent across the country *via* Calpee, through Bundelcund to Surat, to aid the Bombay army. Applications had been made to Sindia and Holkar for passports, to allow our troops to march unmolested through their country. This they granted, as their own troops being engaged in the direction of Poona, their territories would be less unprotected, and therefore wished the English should pass as friends.[2] "The ministers, however, observed to Mr. Mostyn, that as the detachment was sent on account of the French, by the dismissal of the envoy (St. Lubin), both their advance and their passports were no longer necessary; Nana at the same time sent secret orders to the Mahrattah officers, and to the rajas in Bundelcund to oppose Leslie's progress."

Leslie's detachment[3] marched from Calpee in May 1778, and having advanced as far as Chatterpoor, a principal city in Bundelcund, early in June, it halted till the middle of August. In fact, Colonel Leslie had improperly delayed his

[1] Hasting's casting vote decided the question.

[2] Duff, vol. ii. p. 357. [3] Mill, vol. iv. p. 44.

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movements by making an attack on Mhow, six miles west of Chatterpoor. The president and council of Bombay, on the receipt of intelligence of a rupture with Nana, had earnestly exhorted Colonel Leslie to accelerate his motions. They renewed their solicitations on the 21st July, when they came to the resolution of supporting Rugoba. The supreme council wrote to the commanding officer on the 31st August, desiring him to explain his reasons for delay, and to pursue the march. He had marched in the middle of August, and was at Rajegur[1] on the 17th, where he still stayed. He died on the 3rd October, and was succeeded by Colonel Goddard, who, on the 22nd October, reported to the governor-general his progress towards the Nerbuddah, on the boundary of Berar. The detachment had been placed under the orders of the Bombay government. Now,[2] on the 7th December, 1778, when the governor-general heard of the second revolution at Poona, he proposed that Goddard should act under the orders of the supreme council. Goddard crossed the Nerbuddah on 1st December. The Bombay army was now on its march to Poona. It had embarked at Bombay

[1] In Bundelcund.

[2] Mill, vol. vi. p. 47.

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for Panwell[1] on the 23rd November, 1778. The army was composed of five hundred and ninety-one Europeans, two thousand two hundred and seventy-eight native infantry, and five hundred gun lascars; the whole, officers included, amounted to three thousand nine hundred men. Mr. John Carnac,[2] one of the members of council, and declared successor of Governor Hornby, urged vigorous preparation, and a speedy departure of the troops. Mr. Draper dissented from Mr. Carnac, who strenuously supported the proposals of Governor Hornby. "It was the opinion of the majority, that no time should be lost; the French might probably arrive, an incident, the truth of which Mr. Draper admitted, and that too, he observed, 'with their garrison drained of troops, and Bombay at their mercy;' but his voice was overruled.'"

The whole force,[3] accompanied by Rugoba, and Amrut Rao, his adopted son, ascended the Ghauts by the 23rd December, 1778. The dilatory preparations at Bombay afforded Nana Furnuwees

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 364.

[2] Formerly Brigadier-general Carnac in Bengal.

[3] Duff, vol ii. p. 366. A committee had been appointed, something like the Dutch field deputies in Marlborough's time.

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and Mahadajee Sindia ample time to assemble the army. On the 9th January, 1779, the army reached Tullygaom, where the Mahrattahs made a show of resistance; but when the line advanced, they retired. The village had been destroyed by order of Nana Furnuwees, and it was reported, orders had been given to burn Chinchore and Poona. "Instead of pushing forward eighteen miles, the distance between Tullygaom and the capital (Poona), the apparent determination of the enemy alarmed them. Rugoba urged, that no person of consequence would declare for him until some advantage had been obtained. Still the committee sank into despondency. Finally, they resolved to retreat. Rugonath Rao earnestly begged of them to defer their resolution; "but the man who had led fifty thousand horse from the Nerbuddah to the Attock,[1] was equally odious to his countrymen, and despicable among his allies."

The army was divided into two brigades, besides six companies of grenadier sepoys, which were kept distinct as a reserve. The army was reduced to two thousand six hundred men. The Mahrattahs were about fifty thousand men. The

[1] Passage across the Indus towards Peshaweer.

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two brigades were now united, having a strong advanced guard in front, with the six companies and two guns considerably in the rear; the heavy guns had been thrown into a large tank. Captain Hartley commanded the reserve. The Mahrattahs surrounded the Bombay troops on the morning of the 12th January. The troops were formed into line, but the strength of the attack (as in warfare in the Deccan since the days of Shah Jehan) was made upon the rear. Hartley's sepoys drove them back. After sunrise, the attack on the rear was renewed by the main body of the Mahrattah army, consisting of both cavalry and infantry. They also opened their guns on the line. Captain Hartley was not supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn with the main body as requested, but by a detachment. The colonel had ordered Captain Hartley to retreat, but was prevailed on to allow the captain to hold his ground. On the 13th, the enemy opened their guns on the village, and a body of infantry advanced to attack it. They were repulsed, but the troops were supposed to be dispirited; doubts of being able to retreat began to be expressed. On the 13th, the total loss of fighting men in the preceding day, was found to

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be three hundred and sixty-two, of whom fifty-six were killed, one hundred and fifty-one wounded, and one hundred and fifty-five were missing; many of the last supposed to have deserted. There were fifteen European officers among the above killed and wounded.

A further retreat was deemed impracticable by the committee,[1] and Mr. Farmer, secretary to the committee, was sent to negotiate with the Mahrattah ministers. They at first demanded the surrender of Rugonath Rao, which the committee would have complied with, "but they were saved from this disgrace by his having entered into a separate agreement with Mahadajee Sindia, to whom he afterwards gave himself up. Sindia was aiming at an ascendancy which Nana Furnuwees was studiously endeavouring to prevent; yet each was so necessary to the other in the Mahrattah empire,[2] that although their ultimate views were at variance, their present interests were in union. The ruling party, of which Nana and Sindia were now the real authorities, insisted on the committee's entering

[1] Mr. Carnac and Colonel Egerton.

[2] Nana to furnish advice—Sindia to furnish troops—the head of the one, and the arm of the other.

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on a treaty for the surrender of the whole of the territory the Bombay government had acquired since the death of Mahdoo Rao Bullal, &c. There was a separate negotiation opened with Sindia by Mr. Holmes, which[1] "flattered him exceedingly, and accorded most fully with his plans of policy; but no ebullition of joy prevented his taking every advantage of the English, as far as was consistent with the control he now had, and was determined to preserve, over Nana Furnuwees. Mr. Holmes settled that everything was to be restored to the Mahrattahs as held in 1773. The committee were obliged, on the spot, to send an order countermanding the advance of the Bengal troops, and Sindia's favour was purchased by a private promise to bestow on him the English share of Baroach, besides a sum of 41,000 rupees (£4,100) in presents to his servants. The committee were so completely humbled, that they viewed with gratitude the kindness of Sindia in suffering the army to depart;[2] they were obliged

[1] Duff, vol. ii. 377.

[2] It was said that the committee signed a paper in blank at the bottom allowing the Mahrattahs to write above their (committee's) names what they liked. Again, it is said Sindia advised the Mahrattahs not to be too hard upon the English, as they might thereafter pay them off with interest.

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to give two hostages, Mr. W. G. Farmer, and Lieutenant C. Stewart, as a security for the performance of their engagement; but their first act, on descending the Ghauts, was to suspend the countermand they had addressed to the officer commanding the Bengal detachment."

On the return of the troops to Bombay, Colonel Egerton and Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn were suspended. The Court of Directors dismissed Mr. Carnac and Colonel Egerton from the Company's service, as also Lieut.-Colonel Cockburn. The gallant and judicious behaviour of Captain Hartley was universally acknowledged; but the governor in council, having raised him at once to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, although he might have merited the distinction, such promotion being unprecedented in the Company's service, was deemed so improper and injurious, that every officer, before senior to Lieut.-Colonel Hartley, represented the injustice and degradation to which he was personally subjected. Some time after, when an answer arrived from the Court of Directors, it proved a source of mortification to Hartley, as although he was not deprived of his rank, his further promotion and his pay as lieut.-colonel in the Company's service were suspended

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until the whole of those, formerly his seniors, should, in the usual routine, be promoted over him."[1]

In the case of Lieutenant Flint,[2] of the Madras army, for the defence of Arcot in January, 1781, "Sir Eyre Coote recommended the immediate promotion of Lieutenant Flint to the rank of captain, which was acceded to by his government; but this distinction was rendered nugatory by a subsequent determination of the Court of Directors, as an inconvenient deviation from the established routine of their service."[3] The depressing influence caused by a seniority promotion, as stated by Colonel Wilks, has for many years (1826) been overcome by the grant of brevets to Company's officers for distinguished conduct in the field.

"Governor Hornby[4] disavowed the validity of the disgraceful articles of the Wurgaom convention; for although Mr. Carnac had ostentatiously intimated to Nana Furnuwees, probably to en-

[1] Cadet, 1763.—Lieutenant-Colonel, 11th April, 1779. Removed to the king's service, and died October, 1799.

[2] Wilks' South of India, vol. ii. 293.

[3] A captain 23rd November, 1782, (Cadet, 1769) retired 1st June, 1796, as lieutenant-colonel.

[4] Duff, vol. ii. 381.

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hance his own consequence, that he was entrusted with the Company's seal, and with full powers, he had no authority to conclude a treaty, nor could the Bombay government have delegated such a commission. Mr. Hornby determined, at all hazards, to resist the cessions made by the committee; but as every point was indispensably referred to Bengal, there appeared no necessity for publishing a defiance to the Mahrattahs. Every effort was made to recruit and improve their army. Mr. Hornby, on the 19th February, 1779, laid before his council an elaborate minute. He proposed to secure a peace, so as to exclude the French from the Mahrattah dominions, and to retain the territory then in possession of the English. He assumed that Sindia had indicated an aversion to the French, and a desire to form an alliance with the English, against Nana Furnuwees. In this supposition thus adopted, Mr. Hornby was not wholly wrong; for had Nana by any means (foreign or domestic) become too powerful, Mahadajee Sindia might have sought assistance from the English; but while Nana Furnuwees held the reins, principally by the support of Sindia's power, it was completely the interest of the latter to uphold Nana's administration."

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To return to Colonel Goddard[1], his route lay by Mooltan, Khemlassa, Beilsah, Bhopaul, and Hoossingabad; at the last mentioned place he forded the Nerbuddah, on the 2nd December, 1778. The conduct of the nawab of Bhopaul was different from that of the Mahrattah officer at Sagur (Ballajee Punt). The former furnished the troops with supplies, (as certificates in possession of the nawab's family prove), and granted every assistance. The latter plundered our camp. After Colonel Goddard had crossed the Nerbuddah, he halted to the south bank of the river, to await some communications from Moodajee Bhonslay, particularly connected with his future operations. Duff says the views of the supreme government were, " an alliance with the ruler of Berar (Moodajee Bhonslay) against the Poona ministers, for the purpose of attaining permanent peace, and complete security to the Company's possessions, against the attempts of France, by establishing and upholding Moodajee Bhonslay as raja of all the Mahrattahs. Mr. Hastings, in this plan, was precisely adopting the scheme originally suggested by Wittul Sondoor, the

[1] Duff, vol. ii. 384.

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minister of Nizam Ally.[1] He was not aware that Moodajee had no claim to the Mahrattah sovereignty. Mr. Elliot, who was to have carried this plan into execution, died on the 12th September, 1778, on his route towards Nagpoor, the capital of Moodajee Bhonslay. Colonel Goddard was directed to take charge of the secret instructions regarding this plan. He was removed from under the control of the Bombay government, and placed under the orders of the supreme council. Two additional battallions were ordered as reinforcements under Major Jacob Camac.

Moodajee, in the first instance, would have acceded to the governor-general's views, but before any explanation had taken place, he had received intelligence of the designs at Bombay in favour of Rugoba, and of the vigorous preparations of his own countrymen, at Poona;[2] both of which tended to deter him from entering on any immediate alliance. "Moodajee foresaw that opposition would be made to pretensions in his own person, but he knew there would be much less difficulty, and a powerful party

[1] Said to have been first suggested to Mr. Hastings by Beneeram, the Wukeel of Sabajee.

[2] Duff, vol. ii. 386.

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against the Bramin administration, by his assuming the character of protector at Satara, (his authority in Berar was nothing more), and declaring that his sole design was *the restoration of the imprisoned raja's authority.*" "Let," says Moodajee, in his own proposals to Mr. Hastings, "a lineal descendant of Maharaja Chutter Puttee Sivajee Bhonslay, continue on the *musnud* of the Satara raja; but, till the power and authority of the raje (sovereignty) is established, nothing is done." This was sound reasoning for the Mahrattah cause; not, to take steps to support the claims of the peishwa or prime *minister* of the descendant of Sivajee, the founder of the Mahrattahs, while the *head* of the Mahrattahs was imprisoned. Mr. Hastings, doubtless, thought that could he have succeeded in making Moodajee Bhonslay the head of the Mahrattahs, the English would have had a claim to their forbearance and would have secured a permanent peace. It may be asked when the government of Bengal declined to support the *right* of the Emperor of Delhi to his throne, why did they desire to support the *claim* of Rugonath Rao,[1] or of any other

[1] He was the uncle of the peshwa, and his (Rugonath's) son, Bajee Rao, who died not long since, became peishwa in 1795. Rugonath Rao died in 1784.

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Mahrattah chief, to the supreme power at Poona? The answer is, that the Mahrattahs were the strongest. The Company's danger was to the west of India; strong measures were required. From the Bombay government,[1] urgent applications were received by Colonel Goddard, dated on the 6th and 19th December, 1778, to advance to support the Bombay army. Goddard, though no longer under the control of the presidency, considered the interest of his country at stake, and resolved to march to the west coast. He now acted on his own judgment. On the 26th January, he marched, and arrived at Burhanpoor[2] on the 30th of that month. On the 25th of February, 1779, he reached Surat, a distance of three hundred miles. Colonel Goddard himself repaired to Bombay.

Governor Hornby now saw that the scheme for a treaty with Moodajee Bhonslay, as proposed, could not be effected. On the 30th March, 1779, he submitted to council a plan for obtaining resources and for distressing their enemies, for Mahadajee Sindia had shown no favourable inten-

[1] Duff, vol. ii. 387.

[2] Mahrattah Country, 288 miles from Poona, and 340 from Bombay.

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tions to the English, who were on the eve of becoming principals in a war, to maintain which, they had no funds. Mr. Hornby's plan, was to enter into a treaty with the Gaekwar family, on the terms solicited by Futih Sing in 1772;—reconciling the brothers, releasing them from tribute and dependence on the Poona state, and conquering the peishwa's share of Guzerat for the Company. But in all these schemes, they were subject to the control of the governor general and council.

The governor-general had appointed Colonel Goddard, with distinct powers, as their envoy and plenipotentiary at the court of Poona. The governor-general, on hearing of the disastrous news regarding the Bombay army, ordered a brigade to the banks of the Jumna, and Sir Eyre Coote, the commander-in-chief, proceeded to inspect the military resources on the north-west frontier, the quarter most likely to be invaded. Goddard was appointed a brigadier-general, and the Bengal government sent a recommendation to the Court of Directors for his appointment as commander-in-chief at Bombay. The Bombay government objected to his being appointed to the rank of general, or being separately appointed

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to negotiate with the Poona state, except through their act; or having any military force within the limits of their presidency, independent of their authority. Still, soothed by the consideration shown to them by Mr. Hastings, and the judicious conduct of General Goddard, they determined to exert themselves to forward the views of the supreme government.

In the end of May the supreme government, taking into consideration Mr. Hornby's minutes of February and March, decided against the British authority being engaged as a party between the brothers, Futih Sing and Govind Rao Gaekwar. The alliance was, therefore, to be formed with Futih Sing, the acknowledged head of the Baroda state, and no pledge given for reconciling their domestic differences." The governor-general[1] was inclined to concur in opinion with Mr. Hornby, that Sindia had some secret design of connecting himself with the English. General Goddard was instructed to treat separately with Sindia, if he found him disposed to espouse the interests of the Company; but the dependence of Nana Furnuwees on Mahadjee Sindia was at this time best secured by

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p 394.

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war. Sindia had a high opinion of the English troops. Just after the convention at Wurgaom, Sindia, in the presence of Mr. Farmer, Mr. Holmes, and Mr. Sibbald, loudly extolled the conduct of their rear guard (Captain Hartley), which he compared to a red wall; "and no sooner beat down, than it was instantly built up again," (each stepping where his comrade stood, the instant he fell). "I hope," said Mahadajee, whispering in Mr. Sibbald's ear, "to see these fine fellows co-operating with my own troops, bye and bye." But Sindia rather looked to obtaining the means of making conquests, in which he could not expect aid, such as would make him too powerful. He, not many years after, began to employ infantry disciplined by Europeans.[1]

Hyder Ali,[2] prior to 1779, had become jealous of the English, and, but for the fears of a Mahrattah invasion, would, probably, at an earlier period, have gone to war with them, and declared himself an ally of the French. He had for some time encouraged a close intercourse with that nation, and was supplied with arms, warlike stores, and occasionally with men, from the island of

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 476.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 399.

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Mauritius. The recapture of Pondicherry[1] on the 18th October, 1778, caused regret to Hyder; and when the governor of Madras intimated the intended reduction of the French settlement of Mahé, the port through which Hyder drew his supplies, he formally protested against the attack of a settlement which he considered under his protection. The fort fell in March 1779.

The fugitive Rugoba[2] was received by the English, and on the 12th of June, 1779, accompanied by his sons, Amrut Rao (adopted), and Bajee Rao, the latter a child of four years old, visited General Goddard in his camp. The general avoided entering on any terms of alliance with Rugoba, "it was considered very impolitic to attempt forcing a person into the Mahrattah government, to whom the whole nation had manifested indifference or aversion; and therefore, acting upon the terms of the Poorundhur treaty, if all accommodation were rejected, the English in support of their national honour, could do no less than engage in the war as principals. The negotiation between General Goddard and Nana

[1] Formerly taken in 1760,—restored at the peace in 1763.

[2] He had escaped from his guard,—said by the contrivance of Sindia.

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Furnuwees continued for several months, but towards the end of the monsoon, Goddard communicated to the Bombay government some intelligence he had received of a general confederacy of the Mahrattahs, Hyder, and Nizam Ally, against the English, on whom it was said they meditated an attack, at all their presidencies." Goddard had before this sent to demand explicit answers from Nana Furnuwees, who declared that the surrender of Salsette and the person of Rugoba, were preliminaries to any treaty which the English might wish to conclude with the Mahrattah state.

Goddard [1] on this, embarked for Bombay, and consulted the government regarding the proposed alliance with Futih Sing (Gaekwar), and to urge the dispatch of troops. A detachment, under Colonel Hartley,[2] one hundred European artillery, two hundred European infantry, two battalions of native infantry, one of them a battalion of grenadier sepoys, volunteer drafts, principally those who had served before under Hartley, on the rear guard at Tullygaom, were speedily dispatched to

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 402.

[2] The Captain Hartley in January 1779, at the Bhore Ghaut attack.

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Guzerat. A treacherous correspondence about this period, was intercepted by General Goddard, between the wukeels of Nana Furnuwees and the Dutch chief and director, at Surat, who had engaged in a plot for assisting the Mahrattahs to surprise Surat Castle. General Goddard marched 1st January, 1780, and crossed the Taptee. He concluded a treaty with Futih Sing, on the 26th January, 1780. On the 15th February, 1780, he took Ahmedabad. The capital of Guzerat was scarcely reduced, when General Goddard heard of the approach of Mahadajee Sindia and Tookajee Holkar, with a body of fifteen thousand horse, to which were to be united seven thousand horse, then engaged in plundering the villages about Baroach.

The escape of Rugoba caused some coolness between Sindia and the minister for a time, but they were soon reconciled; and although Mahadajee did not wish to quit the capital at that time, yet as he had Nana under command by causing them to apprehend an alliance with the English, he at last consented to oppose Goddard in Guzerat. Rugonath Rao had been persuaded by General Goddard to remain in the city of Surat. Sindia and Holkar forded the Nerbuddah

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on the 29th February, 1780, with above twenty thousand horse. Goddard advanced to attack them. They retired. "Sindia, so far from evincing hostile intentions, professed the greatest friendship for the English. The two hostages (Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart),[1] who were still in his camp, and whom he had treated with much hospitality, were restored to liberty, and joined General Goddard on the 9th March, 1780. Sindia's object was to waste the time in negotiation, and keep Goddard inactive during the fair season." General Goddard was sincere in assuring Sindia of his desire for peace, but he limited the negotiation to a certain time, and allowed Sindia three days from the time his wukeel quitted the British camp, to offer his proposals.

The detachment under Captain William Popham,[2] was composed of drafts intended to recruit the Bengal battalions serving with General Goddard, but in consequence of the renewal of the war, they were not allowed to march across India, as had been originally ordered, and were

[1] Given up at the convention of Wurgaom in January, 1779.

[2] Duff, vol. ii. p. 418. The Bombay records furnish the best details of this force. Copies were not sent to Bengal. Not very regular in those days in sending copies, &c.

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now selected for this service; the whole amounted to two thousand four hundred men, formed in three battalions, a small body of cavalry, and a detail of European artillery. Captain Popham crossed the Jumna in February; he immediately attacked a body of Mahrattahs, who were plundering in the neighbourhood of Gohud. Captain Popham next took Lahar, a place fifty miles west of Calpee, in possession of the Mahrattahs. After his return from Lahar, he encamped during the rains within ten miles of the celebrated fortress of Gwalior; it was in possession of Mahadajee Sindia, but within the territory of the rana of Gohud, and had been wrested from *his* father by the Mahrattahs. "Captain Popham was employed for two months in laying his scheme; and at last, assisted by spies, furnished through the *rana* of Gohud, he determined to carry his plan into execution. On the night of the 3rd August, 1780, he formed his party. The command of the advance was conferred on Captain Bruce,[1] who had before distinguished himself in the attack of the Mahrattah

[1] Bengal infantry. Lieutenant-general Robert Bruce, died 21st September, 1814. He commanded a corps of Hindostanee horse for many years.

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horse, upon the first arrival of the detachment in the Gohud territory. The advance consisted of two companies of sepoys, chosen grenadiers and light infantry; and as the surprise of the natives was intended, twenty Europeans followed the sepoys,—a judicious[1] disposition, as they were near enough to gain the head of the column if necessary, and, where they were placed, less likely to lead to discovery; two battalions of sepoys followed. Scaling ladders applied to the foot of the scarped rock, which was sixteen feet high, enabled them to mount with ease. Thence they had to climb a steep ascent of about forty yards, to the foot of the second wall, which was thirty feet high. The spies ascended, made fast ladders of rope, by which the sepoys mounted with alacrity, and each man as he got inside squatted down. Twenty of the sepoys, with Captain Bruce, had entered the fort, when three of them so far forgot themselves as to shoot some of the garrison who lay asleep near them. This indiscretion occasioned an immediate alarm, but the sepoys stood their ground, their comrades mounted to their support, the garrison became intimidated, and the sun had scarcely risen on

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 420.

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the 4th of August, when the assailants had obtained possession, almost without resistance, of the celebrated fortress of Gwalior." Captain Popham[1] was rewarded with the rank of major from the 4th August, 1780, the date of the capture of the fortress.[2] On the same night,[3] Captain Abington made an attempt to surprise the strong fortress of Mullungurh (Bhow Mullun). "He succeeded in possessing himself of the lower hill; but the garrison, before his men could get sufficiently near to mingle with them, took the alarm, and made good their retreat to the upper fort, an enormous mass of perpendicular rock, that defied all attempts at an assault. The hill forts (Droogs) have usually the town below, but the garrison, or a party of them, in the upper fort. There is usually no way of getting possession of these upper forts, but by starving out the garrison, if in want of supplies, or by bribing the commandant. Even Napoleon did not scruple, at times, to use a gold or silver key.

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 60. He entered the Bengal army as captain, 7th August, 1768.

[2] Lord Gough, for his conduct at Talavera, had his brevet of lieutenant-colonel, 29th July, 1809, ante-dated to the date of the Duke's despatch, at his grace's recommendation.

[3] Duff, vol. ii. p. 421.

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CHAPTER III.

HYDER ALI KHAN.

Mill[1] says, Hyder Ali, after an irregular war with the Nairs, the whole country (Malabar) submitted, before the end of the year 1766, when he was recalled to Seringapatam by intelligence of the utmost importance. Mahdoo Rao had issued from Poona. Nizam Ally, with an English corps, was advancing from Hyderabad; the English had already sent to attack some of Hyder's districts, which interfered with the Carnatic; and all these powers were joined, according to report, in one grand confederacy for the conquest of Mysore. Nizam Ally, however, and the English, were the only enemies whom it was immediately necessary to oppose, and the nizam he easily converted into an ally. In this state of his kingdom and fortunes, he began his first war with the English, in 1767. He was exasperated, not only by the readiness with which, in the

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 471.

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late treaty with the nizam, the English had agreed to join in hostilities against him, but by an actual invasion of his dominions (Baramahl), under the pretence that it formerly belonged to the Carnatic. He attacked Colonel Smith near Changama, whom he defeated. He detached into the Carnatic five thousand horse, who marched without opposition to the very precincts of Madras. The place was completely taken by surprise. Before the rains compelled the English army to retire into cantonments at Wandewash, Colonel Smith attacked the enemy before Trincomalee, with a loss[1] of above four thousand men, sixty four guns, and a large quantity of military stores. The nizam, immediately after the battle, withdrew from the scene of action, and Hyder fell back within his own frontier. Hyder made an overture towards peace in 1769.[2] It was received, however, with great haughtiness by the Madras government. In the same year, having drawn the English army to a considerable distance from Madras, he put himself at the head of six thousand horse, and marching one hundred and twenty miles in three days, he appeared suddenly on the mount of San Thomé,

[1] Wilks, vol. ii. p. 41. [2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 76.

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within seven miles of Madras. He despatched a message to the governor, requiring a negotiation for peace immediately to be opened. The government were struck with consternation. A treaty was concluded on the 4th April, 1769,—"A mutual restitution of conquests;" secondly, "mutual aid, and alliance in defensive wars."

Shortly after the treaty, Hyder endeavoured to persuade the English of the great advantage which he and they would derive, from uniting Janojee Bhonsla[1] with them in a triple league. The Madras government declined complying with his request. "Early in 1770, the Mahrattahs invaded his country, and again he solicited assistance, if it were but a few troops for the sake of the manifestation on account of which he had requested them before. If a more substantial aid was afforded, he professed his readiness to pay three lakhs of rupees. It was not very easy for the English now to find a pretext. They evaded, procrastinated, and withheld, rather than refused compliance with his desire. The Mahrattahs reduced Hyder to great difficulties, nay dangers, and seemed resolved to annex his dominions to their spreading conquests." "He

[1] Son of Rughoojee of Berar.

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endeavoured to persuade the English that their own interest was deeply concerned in combining with him against the Mahrattahs, who would touch upon their frontier." "The Mahrattahs, too, very earnestly pressed for the assistance of the English." They had, indeed, by superior numbers, driven Hyder from the open country. "The difficulties on the part of the president and council were uncommonly great. They state their views of them in their consultations, on the 30th of April, 1770. Their assistance would enable the Mahrattahs, indeed, to prevail over Hyder, but of all events that was, probably, the most alarming; The Mahrattahs would, in that case, immediately adjoin the Carnatic, with such an accumulated power as would enable them to conquer it whenever they pleased; and what, when they had power to conquer, the Mahrattahs would please, nobody acquainted with India entertained any doubt. If they assisted Hyder, that was immediate war with the Mahrattahs, accompanied with all its burdens and dangers. It was not clear, that both united could prevail over the Mahrattahs; and if they did, the power of Hyder would bring along with it a large share of the dangers to which they would be exposed

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from the Mahrattahs, if sovereigns of Mysore. If they stood neuter, and thereby offended both parties, either Hyder or the Mahrattahs, most probably the latter, would prevail; and in that case, the victor, whoever he was, would wreak his vengeance on the rulers of the Carnatic. Amid these difficulties, they conceived it their wisest policy after all to remain neuter; to gain time, and take up arms only when the extremity could no longer be shunned."

The nawab of the Carnatic resolved to form an alliance with the Mahrattahs. He had a personal antipathy to Hyder Ali, and he expressed an extreme reluctance to join, or see the English concur in anything favourable to Hyder. It will be recollected that the treaty with Hyder of the 4th April, 1769, was of a compulsory nature, when the army was away from Madras. The Court of Directors[1] remarked,—" And the only imprudent article of the treaty, in which, however, there was nothing of humiliation, or inconsistency with the train of the Company's policy, was *the reciprocation of military assistance;* be-

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 479. Hyder was a usurper. He had imprisoned the raja, and in 1766, had just subdued the nairs of Malabar. P. 471.

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cause of this the evident tendency was, to embroil them with other powers." In the month of November, 1771, the Mahrattahs were in possession of the whole of Mysore, excepting the principal fort. They had advanced to the borders of the Carnatic: but[1] "the Mahrattahs were afraid of provoking the English to join Hyder Ali."

1780. "Though Hyder[2] was deeply exasperated against the presidency of Madras for their continued evasion of treaty, and refusal of assistance, he was induced by the state of his affairs to make a fresh proposal in 1778. Harassed by the hostilities of the Poona government, he had been well pleased to support a pretender[3] in the person of Rugoba. The English were now involved, not only in disputes with the Poona ministers, but actual operations for the reinstatement of that ejected chief; and in the beginning of July, 1778, Hyder, through his resident at Madras, made a new overture towards an alliance with the English, offering his assistance to establish Rugonath Rao in the office of peishwa, and requiring only a supply of arms and military stores, for which he would pay, and a

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 82. [2] Vol. iv. p. 166.

[3] Rugoba, grand uncle of Mahdoo Rao Narrain, who dying in 1795, declared Rugoba's son (Bajee Rao) to be peishwa.

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body of troops, whose expenses he would defray. "The Madras government appears to have thought, that such an arrangement might be useful, and prevent the formation of a connexion between Hyder and the French: "they even acknowledged their belief, that had not the treaty of 1769 been evaded, Hyder never would have sought other allies than themselves." The supreme council approved in general of an alliance with Hyder; but being at that time anxious to form a connexion with the raja of Berar,[1] they directed a modification of the terms in regard to Rugoba, whose cause they said, was supported, "not as an end, but a means now deemed subordinate to the successful issue of the negotiation with Moodajee."[2]

"A friendly intercourse subsisted between Hyder and the French. He had been supplied by them with arms and military stores. A number of adventurers of that nation commanded and disciplined his troops, and they were united by a common hatred of the English power. A desire to save appearances, however, constrained Hyder to congratulate the English upon the reduction of Pondicherry; but he gave early intimation of

[1] Thus to have an ally among the Mahrattahs.

[2] Rajah of Berar.

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the resentment with which he would regard any attempt upon Mahé, belonging to the French. Hyder threatened the invasion of the Carnatic as the retaliation for interfering with Mahé. It belonged to the French.

Before the end of November 1779, the nabob of the Carnatic [1] informed the governor of Madras that a treaty had been formed between Hyder and the Mahrattahs, to which Nizam Ally had acceded, for a system of combined hostilities against the English. The Madras government at first disbelieved the information, but were soon satisfied of the truth of the nabob's intelligence. On the 21st July, 1780, information was brought from the commander at Amboor, that Hyder [2] and his two sons, with the principal part of his army, had come through the pass. The next day brought undoubted intelligence that Porto Novo, on the coast, and Conjeveram, not fifty miles from the capital, had been plundered by the enemy. Hyder's army was said to amount to "one hundred thousand men: of his infantry, twenty thousand were formed into regular battalions, and most commanded by Europeans. His cavalry

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 171.
[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 174.

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amounted to thirty thousand, of which two thousand were Abyssinian horse, and constantly attended upon his person; ten thousand were Carnatic cavalry, well disciplined, of which one half had belonged to the nabob, and, after having been trained by English officers, had either deserted, or been disbanded for want of ability to pay them. He had one hundred pieces of cannon, managed by Europeans, and natives who had been trained by the English for the nabob; and Monsieur Lally, who had left the service of the subahdar[1] for that of Hyder, was present with his corps of Frenchman or other Europeans, to the amount of about four hundred men, and had a principal share in planning and conducting the operations of the army."

Colonel Baillie, who commanded a detachment in Guntoor, to the west of Masulipatam, of one hundred and fifty Europeans, infantry and artillery, and two thousand sepoys, was directed to attack Cudapah, or some other possessions of Hyder:[2] this was in July. Preparations were being made by the presidency; but it was clear that, with the imminent danger of such an attack,

[1] Of the Deccan. The Nizam.

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 177.

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self-defence prescribed rather a concentration of the troops, than that distant and unconnected detached parties should be sent away, or suffered to be left at a distance from the scene of danger. "Not only every day brought fresh intelligence of the conquest and devastation effected by Hyder; Madras itself, on the 10th of August, was thrown into alarm. A party of the enemy's horse committed ravages as near as St. Thomas's Mount, and the inhabitants of the open town began to take flight." The Madras army at the presidency amounted to five thousand two hundred and nine men (Europeans, one thousand four hundred and eighty-one infantry, artillery two hundred and ninety-four); thirty-two field guns, four heavy guns and five mortars.

On the 25th August, the general (Macleod) left the presidency, and joined the army at St. Thomas's Mount. There was one regiment of cavalry, belonging to the nabob (Carnatic), commanded by European officers; it refused to march unless paid its arrears. They were disarmed, except fifty-six, who consented to serve.[1] There was also a company of marksmen.

It had been concerted that the detachment of

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 183.

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Colonel Baillie should reach Conjeveram[1] on the day after the arrival of General Munro and the army. The army left the mount on the 26th of August. A letter from Colonel Baillie, received on the 31st, informed General Munro that the colonel had been delayed by a small river in his march. On the 3rd September, the enemy encamped five miles distant in front of the army near Conjeveram. On the 6th, the enemy moved his camp to the north-east; General Munro moved his ground. While this movement was performing, Hyder had sent forward his son, Tippoo Saib, with a large body of the flower of his army to cut off the English detachment with Colonel Baillie, who had now advanced to Perambaucum, distant from the main army about fifteen miles. Baillie made a disposition to resist a prodigious superiority of force; sustained a severe conflict of several hours, and at last repelled the assailants. On the 8th September, Baillie wrote to Munro that, upon a review of the battle, he found the movement requisite for joining him, beyond the powers of his detachment, and intimated the necessity, that the general should push forward with the main body of the army. With the concurrence of his

[1] Forty-six miles from Madras, S. W.

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principal officers, he, the general, at nine o'clock at night, on the 8th September, detached Colonel Fletcher with the flank companies his majesty's seventy-third regiment, two companies of European grenadiers, one company of sepoy marksmen, and ten companies of sepoy grenadiers. The colonel declined taking any guns, as calculated to impede his march.

Baillie was directed,[1] on Colonel Fletcher's junction, to march on the evening of the 9th, and to march the whole night. The tents of the main army were struck, and the men lay on their arms. About twelve o'clock, a firing from guns and musketry was heard at a distance. It was soon perceived that the enemy's army had moved.[2] The general gave orders to march in the direction of the firing. After marching four miles, he ordered guns to be fired, as a signal of his approach; and, after a mile and a-half, he repeated the signal. A great smoke was suddenly perceived,[3] and the firing ceased. Supposing that Baillie had repulsed the enemy, the general led the army back into the road, in hopes to meet

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 186.

[2] That Hyder had marched to Tippoo's support.

[3] Baillie's tumbrils blew up.

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him. After marching about two miles, he met wounded sepoys, who told him that Colonel Baillie was entirely defeated. The general marched back to Conjeveram, deeming the safety of the army to depend upon that movement.

Munro was ignorant of Hyder's movements, while Hyder knew of the march of Colonel Fletcher, and the number of his men, as well as that he left his guns behind. He sent a strong detachment to intercept him. The sagacity of Fletcher caused him to suspect his guide, and he, therefore, changed his route, and under cover of the night, evaded the danger. The junction of the two detachments, after the defeat by Baillie, of so large a portion of the enemy a few days before, struck alarm into the Mysorean camp. The European officers in Hyder's service regarded the junction as a masterly stroke of generalship, intended for the immediate attack of his army, both in front and rear. Lally himself entreated Hyder to retreat and save his army. Hyder's resolution was shaken, till two of his spies arriving, assured him that the English army at Conjeveram was not in motion, and making no preparations to move. Hyder had made up his mind.

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Colonel Fletcher had joined Baillie at half-past six, A.M. on the 9th September. Colonel Baillie gave orders to be prepared to march between eight and nine o'clock at night.[1] During the night, Tippoo, who had commanded only a detachment of Hyder's army in the preceding attack,[2] apprised his father of his position, and of the advantage of supporting the attack with the whole of his army. At five, A.M. on the 10th September, Colonel Baillie's detachment began to advance. Soon the pagoda of Conjeveram began to appear; when they were informed that the whole host of Hyder was approaching. Presently after sixty guns, with an immense quantity of rockets, began to play upon this little army. Baillie had, as yet, defeated every attack of the enemy with vast slaughter. Hyder himself was perplexed. Colonel Baillie made a movement to his right, indicating an attack upon the enemy's guns, which increased the terrors of Hyder. He consulted Lally, who (believing that Munro was advancing upon Hyder's rear) advised him to break through the detachment. At half-past seven, A.M. Baillie's tumbrils blew up, and thus he could not use his guns. His destruction

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 189. [2] On the 8th September.

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became certain. He, at last, held up a flag of truce, for the purpose of saving the remains of his men, which was disregarded, and, but for the humane exertions of the French officers, every man would have been cut to pieces.[1]

It was known[2] that Hyder was before Arcot on the 21st August, to the west of Madras, seventy-three miles distant. Colonel Baillie was in Guntoor, to the north of Madras, about two hundred miles distant. But it was even known on the 21st July that Hyder had come through the pass, so that there was ample time for Baillie to have reached Madras in time to have joined the main army before it marched for Conjeveram. It appears that Fletcher joined at half-past six on the morning of the 9th September. They reposed during the day. In the afternoon, Baillie ordered the troops to be ready to march. Between eight and nine o'clock (night), the troops moved off to the left by way of Subdeverim. A little after ten o'clock, several guns opened on the rear. The detachment countermarched, and formed in line,

[1] See 2nd vol. "Memoirs of the late war in Asia," published in 1788, for a narrative of the captivity and sufferings of the prisoners, by an officer in Baillie's detachment.

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 182.

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and with its front towards Perambaucum. At last, the enemy's cannon began to do great execution. During the night, Tippoo had an opportunity of drawing his cannon to a strong post on the road, by which the English were obliged to pass, and of sending advice to his father. Colonel Baillie ought certainly to have marched on the night of the 9th, as he had been ordered to do. But Munro, instead of sending Fletcher, should have marched with his whole force, and have sent an order to Baillie to march towards the main army; and as the distance was only fifteen miles, the two forces must have met (marching towards each other) before noon on the 9th September.[1]

But why did Munro leave Madras till Baillie had joined. Baillie crossed the river at Trepassore (which town is thirty miles W. by N. from Madras,) on the 3rd September. The nearer Colonel Baillie was to Madras the sooner could he join Munro; for Hyder was marching up to Madras from the *south*, and Baillie marching down to Madras from the *north*. Colonel Wilks[2]

[1] Baillie was attacked on the 8th of September; by Tippoo also on the night of the 9th, and morning of the 10th September, before Hyder came up.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 267.

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says, the junction might have been effected at Madras without difficulty or danger, on the 25th or 26th (August). He says, that the junction of the two forces would have given a total of eight thousand and twenty-two (five thousand two hundred and nine, and two thousand eight hundred and thirteen), nearly as large an army as Sir E. Coote had at the battle of Porto Novo, where he defeated Hyder, on the 1st July, 1781. Hence General Munro might have insured a victory, instead of causing the defeat of our army at Perambaucum.

Bassein[1] surrended to General Goddard, on the 11th December, 1780. He, hearing that the whole army (Mahrattah) had attacked the Bombay division, set off at the head of the cavalry, and the assembled grenadiers of the Bengal and Madras troops, with whom he reached Colonel Hartley's camp on the 13th. He expressed his admiration of the position which had been chosen, and of the judicious conduct of the troops. "The whole army was now united under General Goddard; and it unfortunately happened, that the orders from the Court of Directors before alluded to, which made Hartley the junior lieutenant-

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 429.

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colonel on the Bombay establishment, until all those formerly his seniors should be promoted, was at this time promulgated; Lieutenant-colonel Baillie, of the Madras establishment, though just promoted to that rank, immediately claimed his right, and of course superseded him. Hartley represented the peculiar mortification to which he was subjected; but the order was irrevocable. He quitted the army, repaired to England, and laid his case before the Court of Directors, who, sensible of his merit, although they could not alter the constitution of their service, recommended him to his Majesty, by whom he was appointed Lieutenant-colonel of the seventy-third regiment. Although no longer engaged in Mahrattah warfare, he was afterwards distinguished on many occasions in India."[1] He served as major-general at the capture of Seringapatam in 1799, and died in October of that year.

On the 25th September, 1780, when intelligence had arrived, not only of the actual invassion by Hyder,[2] but of the discomfiture of Colonel Baillie, and the retreat of the army to the vicinity of Madras, with the poverty and helplessness of

[1] Bombay records. [2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 196.



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the Presidency; the governor-general proposed, that all the energy of the supreme government should be exerted, to re-establish the power of the Company on the coast; "He moved that the sum of fifteen lakhs of rupees (£150,000), and a large detachment of European infantry and artillery, should immediately be sent to the relief of Madras: he also moved that Sir Eyre Coote,[1] should be requested to take upon himself, as alone sufficient, the task of recovering the honour and authority of the British arms, and recommended that an offer of peace should be made without delay to the Mahrattah state." "It was resolved, that the strong measure should be taken of suspending the governor of Fort St. George, for his neglect of their commands in not restoring the circar of Guntoor."[2] On the 13th of October, 1780, Sir Eyre Coote sailed from Calcutta, with a battalion of European infantry (three hundred and thirty men), two companies of artillery (two hundred men), with six hundred and thirty Lascars, and between forty and fifty gentle-

[1] Became commander-in-chief of the Bengal army 25th March, 1779.

[2] Ordered to be restored on 12th June, 1780, to the nizam, to whom it belonged.

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men volunteers. The prejudices of the sepoys, rendered it hazardous to attempt to send them by sea. "It was resolved to send them by land. Sir E. Coote landed at Madras on the 5th, and took his seat in council on the 7th November, 1780. Sir E. Coote brought with him the decree for the suspension of the governor, who disputed the competence of the supreme board. The majority of the council, however, recognised the suspension; and the senior member of the council succeeded to the chair.

Colonel T. D. Pearse of the Bengal artillery, was chosen by the governor-general to command the native infantry to march by land to Madras. It consisted of about five thousand sepoys, with a well selected artillery. He marched in February, 1781, from Bengal, *viâ* Midnapoor, Cuttack, Ganjam, the northern circars along by the sea route,[1] Masulipatam, and Nellore, and arrived near Madras in August, 1780. Sir T. Munro says,[2] "The army (Coote's) halted a few days at Cuddalore, and then went to the northward to

[1] Colonel Baillie should have taken this route from Guntoor in August 1780.

[2] Gleig's Life, vol. i. p. 43. After the battle of Porto Novo.

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meet the Bengal detachment, which it joined without any interruption, in the beginning of (August) 1781, near Pullicat. This detachment amounted, when it left Bengal, to five thousand men; but was now reduced by sickness and desertion to little more than two thousand." This sickness was the "*cholera morbus*," the first indication of its appearance in India in our time. It broke out near Ganjam in March, 1781, and lasted about six weeks. The desertions were caused by a desire to quit a part of the country where the *cholera* prevailed. It was supposed by Colonel Pearse,[1] that the greatest part of his loss was caused by the disease and by desertions to fly from the sickness prevailing in his camp. Both Europeans and natives were attacked. The next instance of the appearance of the *cholera* was in October, 1781. Negapatam was attacked by four thousand of our troops. Mill[2] says, "On the 21st October, the seamen and marines landed from the ships." Wilks[3] says, the place surrendered on the 3rd November, 1781. "The monsoon set in with

[1] Memoirs, Mill, vol. iv. p. 212, calls it an "infectious disease." I doubt its being infectious.

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 224.

[3] Wilks, vol. ii. p. 354.

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such violence, immediately after the surrender of the place, that the admiral (Sir E. Hughes) was for upwards of three weeks unable to embark the seamen and marines, who had performed these valuable services; and the ships were during the same period placed in the most critical situation, from the fury of an incessant storm." These seamen and marines having to sleep on the damp ground, were attacked with *cramps and spasms*, occasioned by wet and fatigue.[1]

The third instance of *cholera* occured in 1786. Duff,[2] under that year says, "Just at this period, the following letter appears in the official correspondence of Hurry Punt, and in his own hand writing." "The loss sustained by the army, in consequence of the *cholera morbus* is very great; medicines are liberally supplied, some do recover, but by far the greater part die." The fourth instance of the appearance of the *cholera* was in 1817, as will appear, hereafter.

[1] Annual Register, 1782, p. 91, History of Europe.
[2] Duff, vol. iii. p. 17, *note*.

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CHAPTER IV.

SIR E. COOTE'S OPERATIONS AGAINST HYDER, 1781.

SIR E. COOTE had taken his seat in council at Madras on the 7th November, 1780. He found according to Mill[1] a force of not more than seven thousand men, of whom seventeen hundred were Europeans. Wilks[2] makes the number eight thousand four hundred and seventy-six. Sir T. Munro[3] gives only seven thousand two hundred, (one thousand four hundred Europeans, five thousand sepoys and eight hundred native cavalry), and sixty guns. Having written down his view of the state of affairs, and his plan of operations, he called a *council of war*, consisting of Sir Hector Munro, Lord Macleod, and Brigadier-general Stuart. He asked their opinion, and afterwards submitted the result to the select committee, and desired their opinion. All agreed in approving the plans of the general, and reposing unbounded confidence in his direction. On the 17th Janu-

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 203. [2] Wilks, vol. ii. p. 316.
[3] Gleig's Life, vol. i. p. 32.

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ary, 1781, the army, under the command of General Coote, marched from the encampment at the mount. Hyder was struck with awe by the arrival of the new commander, and the reinforcements from Bengal.

"On the 14th of June[1] the fleet returned with a reinforcement of troops from Bombay. While absent on the western coast, Sir E. Hughes had attacked the ships of Hyder, in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore; and destroyed the rudiments of that maritime power, which it was one of the favourite objects of his ambition to erect." Hyder Ali died on 7th December, 1782, and according to "Captain Meadows Taylor's History of his Life;" Hyder, some short time before his death, said to his confidential minister—"What does it signify as to the loss to the English of Colonel Baillie's detachment, they can get more men from Europe—unless I can form a navy, capable of meeting their ships at sea, I can do nothing." On the death of Tippoo, in 1799, it was found that he had been for years carrying out the same maritime designs.

Early in the morning of the 1st July, the English army broke up the camp at Porto Novo, and

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 207.

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commenced their march with the sea at a little distance on their right. Sir E. Coote had great want of intelligence. Sir T. Munro says,[1] Hyder had marched seventy miles in two days, and encamped four miles from Porto Novo. "The time he had so long wished for he imagined was now come, when he might, in one day, destroy the only army that remained to oppose him. His expedition showed his confidence of success. His troops were no less sanguine than himself. A little after daybreak, on the 1st of July, the general drew up the army in a large plain, which lay between the two camps. On his right was a chain of sand-hills, which ran along the coast, at the distance of about a mile from the sea in the rear; and on the left, woods and enclosures, but with an open space between; two miles to the left ran another chain of sand-hills, parallel to the former, and behind them lay the principal part of the Mysorean army." Coote saw that the enemy wished that he should advance across the plain, under the fire of the batteries they had constructed on every side; but he kept his ground till eleven o'clock, when, finding they did not choose to make the attack, he

[1] Gleig, vol. i. p. 40.

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moved to the rear of the sand-hills on his right.[1] "The army marched in two lines, the first commanded by General Munro, the second by General Stuart. In the first were all the European infantry, with six battalions of sepoys equally divided on the flanks; in the second, four battalions of sepoys. One half of the cavalry formed on the right of the first; the other half, on the left of the second." The army, after marching a mile between the sand-banks and the sea shore, again defiled by an opening into the plain, where the enemy's infantry and artillery were drawn up, waiting our coming; but their horse still remained behind the sand-hills." Our troops formed under the fire of forty pieces of cannon. We returned not a shot. The enemy brought their guns nearer. As soon as the second line had formed, Sir Eyre gave orders to advance, and to open all the guns. Their fire was so heavy, that nothing could stand before it. The Mysorean infantry only staid to give one discharge; the

[1] While waiting in council to decide on the mode of attack, an officer moving near the sea shore, found a road which led to the rear of Hyder's entrenchment. Hyder had made this road to take our army in flank, if they stormed his batteries in front. Seeing the failure of his stratagem, he left his works, and moved parallel with the English army.

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drivers hurried away the cannon, while the horse attempted to charge; but they were always broken before they reached the line. In a quarter of an hour the whole were dispersed. Munro adds, "Whilst the first line were engaged with Hyder, the second was attacked by Tippoo and Lally, who were repulsed by General Stuart in all their attacks to drive him from the sand-hills; and when Hyder fled, they followed him." Our loss was four hundred killed and wounded. The English did not possess cavalry sufficient[1] for an active pursuit, or they might have captured Hyder's guns and stores. The result was important; Hyder abandoned his designs upon the southern provinces. Tippoo raised the siege of Wandewash, and both retired with the whole of their army to the neighbourhood of Arcot.

On the 27th August, 1781, Coote was desirous of recovering Arcot.[2] He was in want of supplies. Tripassore was reported to contain great stores. The siege was resolved on. It surrendered in a few days, but contained only a small

[1] A regiment of horse, and a battalion of sepoys remained on the beach to guard the baggage; and there were altogether only eight hundred cavalry.

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 212.

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supply of provisions. Hyder was in full march to relieve it. He fell back a few miles, to what he reckoned a lucky spot, a strong position on the very ground where (Perambaucum) he had defeated Baillie, on the 10th September, 1780. Coote came in sight of Hyder's army on the 27th Aug., 1781. Hyder had the advantage of his guns bearing upon the advance of the English army,[1] which was rendered also difficult by a number of water-courses intersecting the ground. Sir Eyre found the enemy's position stronger than he had imagined. "Besides[2] three villages which they had occupied, the ground along their front, and on their flanks, was intersected in every direction by deep ditches and water-courses; their artillery fired from embrasures, cut in mounds of earth, which had been formed from the hollowing of the ditches, and the main body of the army lay behind them. The cannonade became general about ten o'clock, and continued with little intermission till sunset, for we found

[1] By the junction of Colonel Pearse, with above two thousand men, and deducting the loss of four hundred in the last battle, there were one thousand seven hundred or one thousand eight hundred more men than at Porto Novo, or about nine thousand men.

[2] Munro, (Gleig, vol. i. p. 44.)

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it almost impossible to advance upon the enemy, as the cannon could not be brought on without much time and labour, over the broken ground in front. The enemy retired as we advanced, and always found cover in the ditches, and behind the banks. They were forced from them all before sunset; and after standing a short time a cannonade on open ground, they fled in great hurry and confusion towards Conjeveram. More than six thousand of them were killed or wounded. Our loss was about five hundred men." He adds, "that the strength of the enemy's situation made victory uncertain."

Colonel Pearse,[1] who commanded the Bengal part of the force, states that, towards the end of the action (or cannonade of eight hours), it was proposed to try and turn the enemy's left. On a movement in that direction, Hyder's army was seen moving off at sun set. Had the ground been properly examined, it must have been obvious that a flank movement was the best plan of attack, instead of suffering so long a cannonade, or as remarked by Munro, "the general, by attacking them in front, instead of turning their

[1] "Memoirs."—Came as major from the Royal Artillery in 1768, and had seen service in Europe.

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left flank, a little beyond which the ground was clear, showed little knowledge of the country." Pearse was of the same opinion, and in his letter to Hastings sadly exposes Coote's want of generalship. It has always been said in Indian warfare, in Coote's time and since those days—the English never possessed a large body of cavalry, so as to have the means of getting information. The Emperor Napoleon rebuked one of his marshals, who pleaded want of intelligence, by writing to him.—"A general who commands a division, can march to a town, call for the mayor of the place, and demand to know the state of the country, and other matters." Now, not having cavalry at command, there will still always be found persons to bring information, if *properly paid:* but not if rewarded as Sir Hector Munro did the messenger sent by Baillie to carry intelligence of the critical position he was in—when he gave him two pagodas (sixteen shillings.)

General Goddard,[1] by order from the Court of Directors was now (1781), commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, but still entrusted with his former powers from Bengal, and at liberty, in a great degree to follow his own plans.

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 435.

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A detachment of Bengal troops[1] had been prepared to assist the rana of Gohud: Major Popham had cleared that country of the enemy, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carnac invaded Malwa, and advanced to Seronje, where he arrived on the 16th February, 1781. Mahadajee Sindia came up with his army, and Colonel Carnac, having taken post, allowed himself to be surrounded. He was much distressed for provisions, and applied for a reinforcement. In the mean time, Lieutenant-Colonel Carnac was attacked by Sindia, and cannonaded in his camp for seven days successively, when he determined to retreat. On the 9th March, he forced the town of Mahautpoor to give him supplies. Sindia followed, and "encamped every night at the distance of five or six miles from the British troops, having his heavy baggage at an equal distance in his rear. This disposition to guard against surprise continued for several nights, until Colonel Carnac, by Sindia's seeming want of enterprise, had thrown the wily Mahrattah off his guard; when, on the night of the 24th of March, he entered Sindia's camp, attacked and routed his forces, killed numbers of his men, took thirteen of his

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 446.

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guns, three elephants, his principal standard, twenty-one camels, and many horses. This achievement, which deservedly ranks very high, and marks a military genius, was suggested by Captain Bruce, the same officer who led the escalade of Gwalior, 4th August, 1780. It was of the utmost importance, not only in raising the fame of the British arms, but particularly affecting Sindia, whose reputation had suffered, while that of the Bramin, partly supported by Holkar, was greatly increased by the supposed victory over General Goddard."[1]

1782. Colonel Braithwaite had commanded a detachment for some time at Tanjore. He had one hundred Europeans, one thousand five hundred native troops, and three hundred cavalry,[2] stationed for the purpose of protecting Tanjore, encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, at a distance of forty miles from the capital of that name, exposed to an open plain, but apparently secured by the intervention of several large and deep rivers. His position gave encouragement to Hyder. Tippoo, with ten thousand horse, an

[1] Retreat to Panwell in April 1781, and loss of four hundred and sixty six killed and wounded.

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 244.

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equal number of infantry, twenty pieces of cannon, and M. Lally with his European troops, four hundred strong, surrounded Colonel Braithwaite before he had even a suspicion of their march. His first endeavour was to reach Tanjore, or some other place of safety; but the enemy's superior force rendered it impracticable. He next resolved to make a brave defence; and the annals of war seldom exhibit a greater example of perseverance and courage. From the 16th to the 18th of February, 1781, surrounded on all sides, did they withstand incessant attacks. They were formed into a hollow square, with the guns divided among the faces, and the cavalry in the centre. Tippoo's guns were engaged to make breaches in the square, and when he thought he had made an impression, he urged on his cavalry to the charge, and as often were they repelled by showers of grape-shot and musketry; when the English cavalry, issuing from the centre, at intervals suddenly made for their egress, pursued their retreat with great execution. After twenty-six hours of incessant conflict, when great numbers of the English force had fallen, Lally, at the head of his four hundred Europeans, supported by a large body of infantry, covered on his flanks

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by cavalry, advanced with fixed bayonets to the attack. The troops were thrown into confusion. Lally with great difficulty restrained the rage of the barbarians. It is but justice to add, that Tippoo treated his prisoners, especially the officers and wounded men, with real attention and humanity. It is remarkable that, out of twenty officers, only one was killed, and eleven wounded. It is clear that Colonel Braithwaite was exposed to an attack from Hyder, before he could be supported by any of our troops. He should have been in an entrenched camp, close to Tanjore, where he could have protected the city as well as his own detachment. The fate of Baillie's force ought to have been a warning to the Madras government.

On the 3rd April, 1782, the French admiral, having landed two thousand men at Porto Novo, joined Tippoo's army. The arrival of so important an aid as that of two thousand Frenchmen, augmented to an alarming degree the army of Tippoo. Cuddalore[1] fell to their united force, and afforded a convenient station, both naval and military, for the French. In the meantime, the 2nd battalion of the 42nd Highlanders, raised by

[1] Mill. vol. iv. p. 246.

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Lord M'Leod, and the 98th and 100th regiments, raised, the former by Mr. Fullarton, the latter by Mr. Mackenzie Humberstone (promoted to lieutenant-colonels on the occasion), together with Major-General Meadows, arrived in India. The general and Colonel Fullerton, and near two thousand men, landed at Madras on the 12th of February, 1782. Colonel Humberstone, with part of the two regiments (the fleet having separated), reached Bombay on the 22nd of January, 1782. Hearing alarming intelligence of Hyder Ali's overrunning the Carnatic, he, to cause a diversion, and avoid the danger of going round to Madras, landed at Calicut,[1] on the Malabar coast.

On the 29th of June, 1782, by a letter from the governor-general to Lord Macartney (governor),[1] the conclusion of peace with the Mahrattahs was announced at Madras. This was an important circumstance, as Hyder's army was in full force, and he had just obtained an addition of two thousand French troops, by which Cuddalore, a little to the south of Pondicherry, had been obtained by the French, whose fleet was equal to that of the English; and, in point of fact, the

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 249.

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French fleet, under Admiral Suffrein, exhibited a superiority to the English in the celerity of its movements. The English admiral, by delaying to sail from Madras for Trincomalee (Ceylon) till the 20th of August, allowed Suffrein to take the forts on the 31st of that month. Sir E. Hughes did not arrive off that port till the 2nd of September, when he found the French in possession.[1] It was known at Madras on the 5th of August, that the French fleet had sailed on the 1st of the month to the southward.[2]

Another reinforcement of troops arrived on the 19th of October, 1782, with Commodore Sir Richard Bickerton, of three regiments of one thousand men each, Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, amounting to three hundred and forty, and about one thousand recruits raised by the Company, chiefly in Ireland; but as soon as Sir Richard was apprised of the motions of Sir E. Hughes, he immediately put to sea, and proceeded after him to Bombay.[3] This strong

[1] Being the period of the S. W. monsoon. Ships are often a long time in beating down the bay, which the admiral must have been aware of.

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 256.

[3] He had five sail of the line; had "touched at Bombay, and was on his way round for Madras." Sir E. Hughes went to refit his fleet.

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reinforcement of European troops gave the English a very great superiority, for in January and August, 1782, no less than seven thousand three hundred and forty European soldiers had been landed in India. Wilks,[1] mentioning the sailing of Sir E. Hughes from Madras on the 15th of October, 1782, states the "singular coincidence of Monsieur Suffrein having sailed from Cuddalore in fair weather on the 15th of October, the same day that the English fleet was driven in the utmost danger from the roads at Madras by a hurricane, which, as usual, soon changing its direction, strewed the shore for several miles with the wreck of country ships." Mill says they contained thirty thousand bags of rice; that there were only thirty thousand bags in the warehouses at Madras, while the monthly consumption was fifty thousand bags. Lord Macartney, as Wilks remarks, "justly apprehensive for even the safety of Madras, if the hostile fleet should winter at Trincomalee, and be thus on the spot, not only to co-operate with the expected army under Monsieur Bussy, but to intercept the supplies of grain from Bengal, which constituted the sole hope of averting the miseries of

[1] Wilks, vol. ii. p. 397.

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famine at Madras," solicited the admiral "to risk the English fleet, for the purpose of covering a decisive attempt to reduce Cuddalore, and thus decide the war before the arrival of Monsieur Bussy." But the admiral had more than once declared his professional conviction of the absolute necessity of repairing to Bombay. Pondicherry is about one hundred miles from Madras. We had retaken it in 1778. Cuddalore is only a few miles south of Pondicherry. The possession of the former by the French, not only would facilitate the capture of the latter, but also endanger Madras itself.

Sir Eyre Coote had returned to Madras with the army. He had sustained a second paralytic attack. No longer equal to the toils of command,[1] he sailed for Bengal, and General Stuart remained at the head of the army, now encamped at Madras, with provisions for not many days, and its pay six months in arrears.

An event now occurred which was of very great importance, the death of Hyder Ali, at the age of eighty years. He died at Chittore, in the Carnatic, about eighty miles from Madras, on the 7th December, 1782. At this time Tip-

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 257.

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poo, his son and successor, was at a great distance, having been detached to the western coast to oppose Colonel Humberstone's invasion. This officer[1] had landed at Calicut on the 18th of February, 1782, and taken several forts in Hyder's territories. Wilks[2] says, that as soon as Hyder's recovery became improbable, it was suggested by Poornea (the minister) that his death should be concealed, as the only possible means of carrying on the necessary authority to keep the army together until the arrival of Tippoo. This project was concerted with Kishen Rao, and with the public officers and domestics to whom the event must be known. Immediately after his decease, the body was deposited in a large chest filled with *abeer* (a powder composed of various fragrant substances,) and sent off from camp to Seringapatam.

Wilks says, successive couriers were dispatched to Tippoo to apprize him of the event. "The whole arrangements of the army, the weekly relief of the two thousand horse, which constantly hung round Madras, the issue of pay, the adjustment of military accounts, the answers to letters received from the envoys at the different courts,

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 242. [2] Vol. ii. p. 414.

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and all the business of the state, went on as usual. The principal officers of the army, and the foreign envoys made their daily inquiries, and were answered that Hyder, although extremely weak, was in a state of slow, but progressive amendment. The French physicians, sent from Cuddalore to attend him, on the first serious symptoms, had, of course, conveyed to Monsieur Cossigny, who now commanded the troops, confidential intelligence of the whole proceedings." "The most trusty chiefs of the army were successively, and without any circumstances to excite suspicion, admitted into Hyder's tent, for the purpose of communicating the plan which had been adopted,"—they were all faithful to their trust, except Mahommed Ameen, the son of Ibraheem Saheb, and cousin-german to the deceased. He formed a project to cut off the persons exercising the powers of government, and to proclaim Abd-ul-Kerrem, Hyder's second son, a person of defective intellect, as a pageant who would permit them to exercise the government in his name.[1] Mahommed Ameen's plot was discovered by Poornea—and he and his coadjutor,

[1] Thus, as it were, proposing to imitate the example of the Mahrattahs to the emperor of Delhi (Shah Allum) in 1771.

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Shems-u-deen, were put in irons and sent off under a strong guard. On the 16th day after Hyder's decease, the army marched in the direction of Tippoo's approach. "The closed palanquin of Hyder, with the accustomed retinue, issued at the usual hour from the canvas inclosure of his tents; and the march performed in the usual manner,—observing of course the proper attentions, not to disturb the patient in the palanquin."

Tippoo first heard of his father's death on the 11th December, and abandoned, for the present, all operations in Malabar. "He reached his father's tent on the 2nd January, 1783; and made the most ample acknowledgments to the persons who had conducted, during this most critical interval, the charge of the public affairs, and particularly to Poornea, who had first suggested the arrangement. On the same evening he gave audience to all the principal officers of his army. "The actual strength of the Mysorean armies in the field at the time of Hyder's death, exclusively of garrisons and provincial troops, but including a new levy of five thousand horse raised on the northern frontier, subsequently to the intelli-

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gence of the Mahrattah peace,[1] was, according to the return of actual payments made by Poornea as treasurer, eighty-eight thousand.[2] 1783 —Shortly after his arrival in camp, Tippoo was joined[3] by a French force from Cuddalore, consisting of nine hundred Europeans, two hundred and fifty Caffres and Topasses, two thousand sepoys, and twenty-two guns; "While at the same time, the whole of the British force in the Carnatic, capable of taking the field, amounted to no more than two thousand nine hundred and forty-five Europeans,[4] and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-five natives." General Stuart offered the enemy battle near Wandewash—They retired in haste. He marched towards Vellore, and heard there that Tippoo was retreating from the Carnatic.

In the middle of January, 1783, General Mathews, with an army of twelve hundred Europeans, eight battalions of sepoys, and a pro-

[1] Known to Lord Macartney at Madras on 29th June, 1782.

[2] The military officers of Mysore estimated 120,000; the difference between it and effective, Wilks observes, is well known.

[3] Mill, vol. iv. p. 203.

Many had been landed at Bombay.

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portion of artillery and Lascars, from Bombay, after taking the fort of Onore by storm, moved towards the great pass of the Hussain Gurry Ghaut. "This movement, intended to advance upon Bednore, was in consequence of positive orders from the Bombay government, and in opposition to the opinion of General Mathews."[1] Bednore was a district in the N. W. extremity of the raja of Mysore's territories, situated on the summit of that range of western hills, which overlooks the provinces of Canara and Malabar, and named the Western Ghauts. These mountains, elevated from four thousand to five thousand feet above the level of the sea, present to the west a surface in many places nearly perpendicular to the horizon, and by their height, intercept the clouds of the western monsoon.[2] "The ascent consisted of a winding road of about five miles in length, defended by batteries or redoubts at every turning." The army entered the pass on the morning of the 25th, and carried everything with the bayonet, and a strong redoubt at the top of the Ghaut was taken by clambering up the rocks and gaining the rear of it. On the 26th advanced to Hyder-nagur, or Bedore, the

[1] Wilks, vol. ii. p. 448. [2] Hamilton's Gazeteer.

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rich capital of one of the most important of all the dependencies of Mysore. The governor surrended the city of Bednore, the country, and all its dependencies. Most of the minor forts submitted, but Ananpore, Mangalore, and some others, held out. Ananpore, was carried on the 14th February. Mangalore surrendered.

The army became dispersed in detachments to occupy almost every town and mud fort in the country. A vast treasure was found in Bednore, besides jewels. "Nothing, it is said, was dreamt of but riches; intelligence, fortifications, and subsistence, were all equally neglected. In this state of supine insensibility, Tippoo suddenly appeared on the 9th of April, drove in a detachment stationed four miles distant at Fattiput, seized the town of Bednore, with a considerable quantity of ammunition neglectfully remaining without the magazine; laid siege to the fort, and sent detachments to occupy the ghauts, and surrounding country. The English in Bednore were then cut off from retreat; the fortifications were ruinous, their ammunition was expended, their provisions were low, and their numbers were diminishing by disease and fatigue as well as the sword. Honourable terms being promised, they

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surrendered by capitulation on the 30th April; but, instead of being sent according to agreement to the coast, they were put in irons and marched like felons to a dreadful imprisonment in the strong fortresses of Mysore. After this important success, Tippoo proceeded to Mangalore, in which the remains of the English army had collected themselves, with such provisions as the suddenness of the emergency allowed them to procure. On the possession of Mangalore, the chief fortress and the best harbour of Canara, Tippoo, as well as his father, set an extraordinary value. On the 16th of May, a reconnoitring party of his horse appeared on a height near the town. On the 20th the picquets, on the 23rd the outposts of the garrison, were driven in, and the investment of the place was rendered complete."

Mill quotes the treasure taken by General Matthew at £801,000. It is said by Wilks,[1] that when Hyder conquered the country in 1763, the available property, including money and jewels, which he realised, " may, without risk of exaggeration, be estimated at £12,000,000, and was, throughout life, habitually spoken of by Hyder as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness."

[1] Wilks, vol. i. pp. 452 & 454.

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And "it is certain, that he formed the deliberate determination of transferring to Hyder Nuggur the seat of his general government, and of blending Seringapatam, with all its remembrances, among the general mass of his minor possessions." But adds, "Hyder could never have intended to establish his capital, his family, and his treasures at a place of no military strength." The "Annual Register" for 1783, and Colonel Wilks, admits that the public treasure was divided amongst the English troops. Colonel Price[1] says, the amount of the treasure was enormously exaggerated; but the imprudent and unwarrantable manner in which, at the last extremity, it was distributed, and that, after it had been determined to capitulate, furnished too plausible an apology for that breach of the capitulation of which the sultan became immediately guilty." Wilks says, that there is reason to believe "Tippoo had pre-determined to seek some pretext for infringing his conditions."

The march of Tippoo from the Carnatic had been caused by the operations of General Mathews. "During the march of Tippoo from

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 269 (*note* 1). He served with one of Mathews's detachments.

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the Carnatic to the west side of his kingdom,[1] and the operations which preceded his arrival at Mangalore, the following occurrences took place at Madras." Having ascertained the departure of the enemy, he returned with the army, and on the 20th of February encamped near the Mount. The policy of supporting the English army in Bednore against the army of Tippoo,[2] by strong incursions on the southern and eastern parts of his dominions, presented itself, in the strongest point of view, to the governor and council. The army stationed in Tanjore[3] and the southern provinces were ordered to march to the west, and to General Stuart it was recommended to march upon Tippoo's frontier, in the direction of Vellore. This he declared to be impossible ; and while the army remained inactive, Suffrein, whom the British fleet had not yet returned to oppose, found no difficulty in landing Bussy, with a reinforcement of French, at Cuddalore. It was an object of great importance to recover possession of that place, before the works should be strengthened, and the

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 270.

[2] Thus transferring the war to his own country.

[3] No flying detachment like Colonel Braithwaite's.

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army of Tippoo, with the French troops which were with him, should be able to return. But the general caused delays.

Colonel Humberstone, who had landed at Calicut on the 18th of February, 1782, was now to be employed. Mr. Sullivan, of the civil service at Trichinopoly, proposed the plan to be executed,[1]—Colonel Humberstone to act on the Malabar Coast; the army of the south, under Colonel Fullarton,[2] on the Coromandel Coast. The object was to form a line of communication from one coast to the other, through the middle of Tippoo's dominions; that is, in attacking the province of Coimbatore. Another plan was, to cause a disturbance in Mysore, by setting up the pretensions of the deposed raja of Mysore. In April and May, 1783, the forts of Caroor, Aravarcouchy, and Dindigal, were reduced. Colonel Fullarton assumed command of the southern army, and at once augmented his force by battalions from Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Tinivelly. On the 25th May, 1783, he marched from Dindigal to, and took, Daraporam on the 2nd June.

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 276.

[2] Amounting to 13,636 men on the 25th September, 1783.

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These were the operations to the south and south east of Coimbatore, which is south of Mysore.

General Stuart had delayed at Madras, expecting the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, whom he wished to assume the command of the army to march against Cuddalore. At last he marched on the 21st April, 1783, towards Cuddalore, a distance of about one hundred and two miles from Madras. He occupied forty days in reaching that place, which is usually reached in twelve days.[1]

The fleet had returned to Madras on the 12th of April, augmented to seventeen sail, four frigates, and some smaller vessels; and soon after a fleet of ten Indiamen, and three storeships, with one thousand recruits to the army, arrived under convoy of the "Bristol" man-of-war, after a narrow escape from the French squadron. The army arrived on the 7th June. On the 13th, the general made three attacks on the works, which partly succeeded and partly failed, with the loss of sixty-two officers and nine hundred and twenty men, almost all Europeans.[2]

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 270.

[2] Wilks, vol. ii. p. 440, says, "one attack succeeded; one partially; a third failed.

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On the 20th of June, the English and French fleets engaged, the former of eighteen, the latter of sixteen sail of the line. The crews of the English ships were much crippled by sickness. The French had plenty of men, but their ships were so leaky that many were obliged to work at the pumps during the battle. The combatants were parted by night. The French fleet were out of sight the next day. The British admiral next day sailed for Madras. The French admiral was at Cuddalore on the 23rd of June, and relanded two thousand four hundred men which had been furnished to the fleet. The garrison made a sally on the 25th of June, which was repulsed.[1] A grand effort was preparing for the 4th of July; and so much were the English reduced by the sword, by sickness, and fatigue, that the most fatal consequences were probable and feared. Sir E. Hughes at Madras, and the British army exposed to Suffrein and Bussy at Cuddalore, presented a dismal prospect to the governor of Madras, when intelligence was received of the signature in Europe of a treaty of peace between

[1] Bernadotte, late king of Sweden, wounded in the sally. The late Sir David Ochterlony (Bengal), then a lieutenant, was wounded at Cuddalore.

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the English and French. It was immediately resolved, though official intelligence had not yet arrived, to send a flag of truce to Bussy, recommending an immediate cessation of arms. To this proposal the French commander acceded. with less difficulty than might have been expected. Bussy even consented to invite Tippoo to a participation in the peace, and to send positive orders to the French troops to retire immediately from his service.

Colonel Fullarton[1] had been summoned by General Stuart, by an order dated 31st May, 1783, and reached within three forced marches of Cuddalore, when he heard of the cessation of hostilities, and he returned towards the south in July. The force he brought was about five thousand men. "Conscious," he wrote to the Madras board, "that the public safety could have no existence, if his (General Stuart's) army were defeated." After the siege of Cuddalore, the colonel was reinforced by five hundred Europeans, and two battalions of sepoys, for his future operations; and a second detachment of

[1] His work (1788), pp. 112 to 115:—"Narrative of Operations of the Southern Army."

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equal strength subsequently joined him. Colonel Fullarton was of opinion[1] that the division of the army under his command, in the south, was augmented sufficiently to penetrate into the very heart of Mysore. Measures were pursued for creating a diversion in favour of the detachment besieged in Bangalore.

General Stuart was recalled to Madras, and the governor submitted to council a motion, that the general should be dismissed the Company's service.[2] It was unanimously voted against the general. General Stuart intimated his determination to retain the command of the king's troops; and Sir John Burgoyne, the next in rank, intimated his intention to obey General Stuart. Decisive acts were resorted to. The town major, and the governor's private secretary, and a party of sepoys proceeded to the villa of the general,[3] and brought him quietly a prisoner to the fort, where he remained a few days, and was then embarked for England.

The force employed by Tippoo in May 1782

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 275. [2] He was a king's officer.

[3] He had lost a leg in the battle of the 27th August, 1781.

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against Mangalore,[1] in the investment of the place, amounted to sixty thousand horse, thirty thousand disciplined sepoys, six hundred French infantry, under Colonel Cossigny, Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, a French troop of dismounted cavalry, many thousands of irregular troops, and nearly one hundred guns. The British garrison consisted of six hundred and ninety-six Europeans, including officers, and two thousand eight hundred and fifty sepoys, besides pioneers and camp followers. With mortars, the French threw into the place large stones weighing one hundred and fifty pounds. The enemy made two assaults on the 4th and 6th July. At last, a cessation of hostilities was concluded on the 2nd August, 1783. Still the enemy failed in their agreement of supplying provisions to the troops, and the garrison was almost starved. At length, on the 23rd January, 1784, the gallant Colonel Campbell offered, on honourable terms, to withdraw the troops. The sultan was too eager to put an end to a siege which, by desertion and

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 282. He might have caused a diversion in favour of the French before Cuddalore, by leaving a force to blockade Mangalore, and have marched with the rest to Cuddalore.

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death, had cost him nearly half his army, to brave the constancy of so firm a foe; and they marched to Tellicherry with arms, accoutrements, and the honours of war."

Upon the evacuation of the Carnatic by Tippoo in 1783, when he found his western dominions were attacked by General Mathews, an overture of peace was made to Tippoo through a brahmin in the confidence of the raja of Tanjore.[1] A favourable answer was sent, but the negotiation was broken off. To the application of Bussy, before mentioned, an answer was returned, offering peace upon certain conditions, and expressing a desire to send two ambassadors to Madras. Upon the arrival of the vakeels, it appeared that a peace, upon the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests, might be effected. The situation of the English prisoners, "to whose feelings, and even lives, a few weeks were of importance, it was deemed expedient to send three commissioners along with Tippoo's vakeels, to expedite on the spot the business of negotiation." These were again broken off in January 1784. Negotiations[2]

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 274. This was just after the peace with France was known (June 1783).

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 285.

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were again renewed, and on the 11th March, 1784, Tippoo signed a treaty by which, on the general condition of a mutual restitution of conquests, peace was obtained. The fact is, Bussy insisted on the French officers leaving his service, so that he not only lost the use of the French troops, and of the use of their fleet, but even of the aid of the French officers. The peace of 1783 included France, Spain, the United States of America, and the States General of the United Provinces (the Dutch).

Rugonath Rao,[1] under the treaty of Salbye (1783), was to choose a place of residence, and fixed upon Kopergaom, on the Godavery, where he died. He only survived this humiliation a few months. Bajee Rao at this time was scarcely nine years old. He became peishwa in 1795, on the death of the young peishwa (Mahdoo Rao Narrain), who particularly desired that he should be placed on the musnud. The treaty of Salbye between the English, the peishwa and the Mahrattahs, restored all the territory we had acquired under the treaty of Poorundhur, by which Rugonath Rao was to be made peishwa, and, for the aid of the English, was to cede Salsette and

[1] Duff, vol. ii. p. 473.

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Bassein. It has been contended, that our interference in favour of Rugonath Rao was improper. He had been in charge of the government during the minority of his nephew, Mahdoo Rao. He died in 1772, at an early age. He was succeeded by his brother, Narrain Rao. He was murdered on the 30th August, 1773. On the[1] death of Narrain Rao, Rugoba was immediately acknowledged peishwa. Duff says,[2] "Rugonath Rao was suspected, but there was no proof of his being the author of the outrage." "They" (the ministers) "were generally of opinion that, whilst there remained a shadow of doubt, it was on every account advisable to support Rugoba's right to the succession." On the 6th September, 1774, Rugoba[3] had agreed for the aid of troops to carry him to Poona, to cede Salsette[4] and Bassein to the Company, and to grant other advantages. Towards the end of November 1774,[5] the Bombay government received intelligence from the Company's resident at Goa, "that great preparations

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 599.

[2] Duff, vol. ii. p 248.

[3] Duff, vol. ii. p. 274.

[4] Taken from the Portuguese in 1750 by the Mahrattahs.

[5] Mill, vol. iii. p. 607. A force expected from Europe, and also preparations at Goa.—Duff, vol. ii. pp. 276, 277.

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were making by the Portuguese for the recovery of their lost possessions, and, in particular, of Salsette and Bassein." On the 13th December, 1774, "a part of the Portuguese fleet anchored in the mouth of the harbour of Bombay." Hearing of the above intelligence, the Bombay government had sent a force and taken the fort of Tannah, on the island of Salsette. The French had, in 1763, recovered possession of Pondicherry, and were desirous of extending their influence in India. It was therefore natural for the government of India to assist Rugonath Rao in ascending the musnud at Poona, and thus obtaining an ally who should be able to govern the acts of the Mahrattahs; for, since the raja of Satara (the descendant of Sivajee) was imprisoned, the peishwa (or prime minister) was, in fact, the ostensible head of the Mahrattahs, and the chief with whom treaties were made. This will show sufficient ground for forming such an alliance with Rugonath Rao. In the same manner, he had previously formed alliances with the nabob of the Carnatic, with the raja of Tanjore, and with the nizam of the Deccan. In the latter case, this prince became, first, the ally of the French, then of the English. Every European nation, indeed,

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had formed such alliances. The Company's settlements at Madras and Bombay were always liable to attacks by sea as well as by land. In Bengal, the result of the battle of Plassy (1757), and subsequent events, led to our becoming possessed of the grant of the "Dewanee."

The state of Hindostan since the death of Aurungzeb,[1] in 1707, had been of so disturbed a nature, that each Mahommedan prince endeavoured to achieve with his sword his own greatness. In 1742, the Mahrattahs had attacked Calcutta, which occasioned the "Mahrattah Ditch" to be made for its protection. The battle of Panniput (1761) caused the defeat of the Mahrattahs, but in a few years they began to regain their strength.[2] "The (Mahrattah) army, which crossed the Nerbuddah in 1769, under Visajee Kishen, as chief in command, consisted, when the whole were united in Malwa, of nearly fifty thousand horse." "There was also a large body of infantry, with a numerous artillery, chiefly natives of Hindostan and Malwa, including men of all casts. The Arabs, Abyssynians, and Sindians, of whom there was a

[1] "The ornament of the throne."

[2] Duff, vol. ii. p. 218.

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small proportion, were accounted the best soldiers of the army, and were mostly obtained from the seaports of Cambay and Surat." Sivajee, the founder of the Mahrattah empire, had no possessions to the north of the Nerbuddah.[1] It was on the decadence of the Mahommedan empire, that the Mahrattahs rose in power. So little was the authority of the emperor of Delhi in the year 1771, that he was obliged to place himself under the protection of the Mahrattahs for the purpose of securing his occupying a throne, to which he had succeeded, in respect to the title of emperor, ten years before. It is now known that Nana Furnuwees, the Mahrattah minister, instigated Hyder Ali to make his attack on Madras, in the year 1780. His letters to Tantia Joosee, who was his agent, have been translated by an officer of rank, who is well known, and who has held political positions which enabled him to gain this knowledge. Of course it would have been an advantage to the Mahrattahs to be able to have the French as a counterpoise in the political scale, to be balanced against the English. Nana signed the treaty of Poorundhur in 1776, but afterwards he took the

[1] Hindostan, south, commences after crossing that river.

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opposite side, by excluding Rugonath Rao from the musnud at Poona. The English had the Portuguese, the Dutch, and French, who were watching for opportunities to further the interests of their nations, to contend against. The Dutch and French had their possessions on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. These were sufficient for their commercial purposes. They had factories in Bengal; but the English company had extensive possessions, and could not confine themselves to the coasts of India; or some other European power would have supplanted them, and the English might have lost their trade with India.

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CHAPTER V.

NAVAL OPERATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH IN THE INDIAN SEAS FROM THE YEARS 1746 TO 1783.

THE declaration of war between England and France, in 1744, was known on the 14th of September.[1] Labourdonnais, having secured the Isle of France, sailed to India with nine sail, in 1746. A fleet of two ships of sixty guns, one of fifty, and a frigate of twenty guns, were despatched to India under Commodore Barnet, who, during the stormy season, went to the island of Mergui, a port opposite the Coromandel Coast. His fleet was reinforced by two fifty-gun ships, and a frigate of twenty guns. He died. Commodore Peyton succeeded to the command; a sixty-gun ship and a twenty-gun ship having been sent to England. They had a distant fight, in which neither gained any advantage. This was near Negapatam. The French were superior in number of ships.

1758—Near Cuddalore. The French con-

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 60.

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sisted of nine sail, the English only of seven sail. The battle was indecisive.[1]

1758—Off Carical, on the Coromandel Coast, on the 2nd of August. The French line consisted of eight sail; the English, as before, of seven sail.[2] The fight lasted scarcely an hour, when three of the French ships, being driven out of the line, the whole bore away under all the sail they could carry.

1782—Admiral Suffrein,[3] near Madras, 1st of February. Suffrein, with ten ships of the line, two ships (including the recaptured "Hannibal") of fifty guns, six frigates, eight transports, and six prizes, hove in sight, reconnoitred Madras, and anchored a few miles to windward of the the English fleet, which was preparing for action. Sir E. Hughes, with only eight sail of the line, and one of fifty guns. On the 16th, the English admiral made a push at the French convoy, separated from the fleet, when he retook five of the vessels which had been captured on the coast, and a large transport, laden with provisions, ammunition, and troops. On the 17th, the French keeping the weather gauge, the two fleets came to action late in the day, and separated after a short

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 210. [2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 229.
[3] Mill, vol. iv. p. 243.

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conflict on the approach of night, when the French steered to windward, and the English to Trincomalee. The French admiral proceeded to Porto Novo, and landed two thousand troops, or three thousand, including a regiment of Caffres.[1]

1782—12th of April.[2] The English had now ten sail of the line, and one of fifty guns. The French, ten sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and six frigates. The French were to windward. The English near a lee-shore, near Trincomalee. A severe conflict ensued, in which the intrepid resolution of the English again counterbalanced the disadvantages of their situation; and the fleets, after suffering in nearly an equal degree, were parted by the night. So much were both disabled, that they lay for seven days within random-shot, only to prepare themselves to sail, and retired; the English to Trincomalee, the French to the Dutch harbour of Battacalo(Ceylon), without, on either side, attempting to renew the engagement. The French crews had been sickly.

1782.—Hyder had planned with the French

[1] Histoire de la Guerre, p. 297.

[2] Mill, vol iv. p. 246. The same day as Rodney's victory. Wilks, vol. ii. p. 383, gives eleven English, seven hundred and thirty-two guns; French, twelve ships, seven hundred and seventy guns.

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admiral,[1] to retake Negapatam. Suffrein in sailing to that port was descried by the English fleet, by whom he was constrained to fight a battle by the skilful movement of Sir E. Hughes. Suffrein wished to gain the road without fighting. After refitting at Ceylon, both fleets had returned to the coast, about the end of June; the French to the port of Cuddalore, the English to that of Negapatam. They weighed anchor on the 3rd July, and on the 4th the action commenced; it was close, warm, and general. After an hour and a half, during which the fire had been equally well maintained on both sides, the French line appeared to be getting into disorder; and the English expected a speedy and glorious victory, when a sudden change of wind disturbed the order of battle, and enabled Suffrein dexterously to form a line with his ships which had suffered the least, to cover the disabled part of his fleet, and induced Sir E. Hughes to collect his scattered ships. At evening Sir E. Hughes cast anchor between Negapatam and Nagore.[2] The French

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 250.

[2] It is said, that two of the French line-of-battle ships had struck during the action, when Suffrein fired into them, till they hoisted colours again, and were thus saved.

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remained three leagues to leeward, and proceeded next morning to Cuddalore. The English, though they saw them, were too disabled to pursue. The English admiral, remained a fortnight at Negapatam, and went to Madras on the 20th to refit. In the meanwhile, Suffrein with characteristic activity was preparing his fleet for sea at Cuddalore. He would, when the exigency required it, work for days like a ship's carpenter. On the 5th August, the governor of Madras was informed, that the French fleet had actually sailed to the south on the 1st of the month. Greatly alarmed for the fate of Trincomalee, and and even of Negapatam, the governor and council deemed it requisite to quicken the preparations of the admiral. He did not proceed to sea before the 20th of August; when he sailed to Trincomalee and found it already in the hands of the French. Suffrein, after proceeding to Point de Galle, where he was joined by the reinforcements from Europe and two ships of the line, anchored in Trincomalee Bay on the 25th; landed the troops early next morning; opened the batteries on the 29th; silenced those of the garrison before night; and summoned the place before morning. To anticipate the arrival of the Eng-

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lish fleet, Suffrein offered the most honourable terms. The forts were surrended on the 31st of August, and Sir E. Hughes arrived on the 2nd of September.

On the 3rd of September the fleet proceeded to sea. The English were eager to redeem, by a victory, the loss of Trincomalee. The French had twelve, the English eleven sail of the line; the French had four ships of fifty guns, the English only one.[1] The battle soon became general. After raging for three hours with great fury in every part of the line, the darkness of the night at last terminated one of the best-fought actions then recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The exertions of Suffrein himself were remarkable, for he was ill-seconded by his captains, of whom he broke six, immediately after the engagement. The French had Trincomalee to return to; but in crowding into it in the dark, one ship struck upon the rocks and was lost; and two others were disabled. Sir E. Hughes proceeded to Madras. Wilks says the French sailed to Cuddalore.

1783.—The fleet with Sir E. Hughes[2] had re-

[1] Wilks, vol. ii. p. 396, gives the French fifteen, and the English, twelve sail of the line.

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 271.

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turned to Madras on the 12th of April, augmented to seventeen sail of the line, four frigates, and some smaller vessels. The "Bristol" man-of-war joined, with ten Indiamen, and three store-ships. On the 17th of June, and two succeeding days, the fleets manœuvred to gain or keep the wind. They engaged at four p. m. on the 20th. The English consisted of eighteen sail, the French only sixteeen,[1] and so leaky, that in most of them, it was necessary to pump during the battle. Suffrein, by dexterous management, contrived, in several instances, to place two of his ships upon one of the English, of which five were but little engaged. The combatants were parted by night; which, Wilks adds, "on the ensuing day Sir E. Hughes anxiously sought to renew, and his adversary to avoid, except at his own distance. A distant cannonade of three hours cost the English fleet five hundred and thirty-two men; and what was of more importance to Suffrein, a large proportion of their spars and rigging." Sir E. Hughes found, from the reports

[1] Wilks, vol. ii. p. 440, says, "Bussy sent one thousand two hundred troops on board the fleet on the 17th, which gave Suffrein three thousand men more than Sir E. Hughes had.

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of each ship, the whole of his equipments so entirely crippled, his crews so lamentably reduced, and the want of water so extreme, that he deemed it indispensable to incur the mortification of bearing away for the roads of Madras; while Suffrein, wresting from his enemies the praise of superior address, and even the claim of victory, if victory belongs to him who attains his object, resumed his position in the anchorage of Cuddalore, where he not only returned the twelve thousand troops, but landed an aid of two thousand four hundred men from the fleet.

With regard to the state of the crews of the two fleets, it is to be observed, that the French in getting any reinforcements of ships of war, or of ships conveying troops only, always procured an addition of seamen to fill up vacancies. In August, 1782, Suffrein had reinforcements from Europe,[1] and two ships of the line. The English had reinforcements and five sail of the line soon after.[2] In April, 1783, the English had the arrival of[3] a man-of-war, ten Indiamen, and three store-ships; still the French obtained more seamen and had more complete crews; to the want

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 252. [2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 255.
[3] Mill, vol. iv. p. 271.

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of complete crews may be attributed the circumstance of the English, never from 1746 to 1783, having gained any decisive victory in the Indian seas—twenty years later we had not a sufficient number of ships of war to protect the commerce of India. Had not the peace of 1783 taken place in Europe, the French would have improved the infant navy of Tippoo, whose ships might have annoyed our trade along the coast.

With the peace of 1783, between France and England,[1] there was an end put to all further operations upon national grounds in India. The peace included France, Spain, the United States of America, and the United Provinces (the Dutch). France had restored to her Pondicherry and Carrical,[2] the possessions they had enjoyed in Bengal, and Orissa, at the commencement of the war; also Mahé, and power to restore their factory at Surat. The Dutch had Trincomalee[3] restored, but Negapatam was retained.

In 1746, Commodore Barnet's ships wintered

[1] Mill, vol. iv. p. 537.

[2] Coast of Coromandel, as also is Negapatam.

[3] We took it in 1782 (11th January). The French took it 31st August, 1782.

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at Mergui.[1] In 1746, the English refitted their ships at Trincomalee.[2] The French, in 1747, went to Acheen to refit, and, at times, to the Mauritius.[3] In 1759, two French ships were sent to Arracan for provisions.[4] In 1760, the French[5] sent a ship to Mergui, a seaport in the Burman dominions. The English, in 1757, obtained from Alompra,[6] the founder of the present Burman dynasty, the island of Negrais in perpetuity. They had taken the side of the Burmans against the Peguers, supported by the French. Most of the settlers were murdered in 1759 by the Burmans. It contains an excellent harbour, and being on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, would have been of value for refitting ships, instead of going to Bombay, when the Dutch or French had possession of Trincomalee. The French, again, often went to the Mauritius to refit, and particularly to obtain seamen sent there from the ships arriving at that island. In those days, no effort was made to intercept French ships reinforcing the island.

Admiral Suffrein returned to France in 1784,

[1] Orme, vol. i. p. 61.
[2] Orme, vol. i. p. 64.
[3] Orme, vol. i. pp. 85, 88.
[4] Orme, vol. ii. p. 556.
[5] Orme, vol. ii. p. 616.
[6] Symes's Ava.

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and told Louis XVI. that the best mode for attacking the English in India, would be by landing in Arracan. The first Burmese war (1824—26) has instructed us in the nature and danger of that mode of attack, as Brigadier-General Morrison (E. S. division) took Arracan.[1]

In 1784, the possessions of the East India Company were, the island of Bombay, Surat, and Tellicherry on the Malabar (or western) coast. At Madras, chiefly the town and fort of Madras, Masulipatam, Negapatam, Vellore, Arcot, and the Northern Circars. In Bengal, Fort William and Calcutta, and the country on the left bank of the river up to Moorshedabad, and on the right bank up to Allahabad, at a distance of five hundred miles from Calcutta.

1784.—The New India Bill, for the better government of the affairs of the East India Company, by Mr. Pitt,[2] passed on the 13th August, 1784. The Board of Control was created, to control the proceedings of the Court of Directors. A secret committee, composed of the two chairs and the senior director, was formed. Be-

[1] The recent operations will be given in an Appendix, as far as can be learnt at the time of application.

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 557.

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fore this committee, all secret correspondence is laid and discussed. There are periodical communications between the president of the Board of Control and the two chairs. A great diminution in the powers of the Court of Proprietors took place. *They* had sent out Clive as governor in 1765, against the vote of the Court of Directors.[1] Mill says, with some modification, it was the same as Fox's bill. Mr. Pitt[2] objected to Fox's bill, "because it created a new and enormous influence, by vesting in certain nominees of the ministry, all the patronage of the east." By the new lease of the charter,[3] granted on the 20th of August, 1833, by which the East India Company have lost the title of "*trading to the East Indies*," &c., the proprietors have lost much of their *right* and *power*. The earl of Derby, premier, in his speech in the House of Lords on the 2nd of April, 1852, said, "With that (Act) of 1833, the Court of Proprietors ceased, as I have said, to have any control or interest whatever in the affairs of India. The

[1] Mill, vol. iii. p. 362 (*note* 1).

[2] Mill, vol. iv. p. 549.

[3] Lord Broughton in 1851, objected to the term "renewal of the *charter*." (The author's *italics*.)

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whole business of the Court of Proprietors at this moment, consists in receiving the dividends upon their stock, which is now paying, I think, ten and a-half per cent., and also in electing the members of the Court of Directors. Further than that, they have *no functions whatever to perform*. It is true they may meet and discuss together, but with regard to the *legislation* of India, any decision or unanimous vote of the whole Court of Proprietors need not exercise the *slightest influence* over the *conduct of the government*. And, indeed, when you look to the present position of the Court of Proprietors, there is some reason why they should not exercise any power over the affairs of India, for they have no interest in it except such as they derive from the payment of dividends, which are made a first charge upon the revenue. The number of proprietors is, I think, one thousand eight hundred, the total number of votes being two thousand five hundred, of which something like one-fifth are held by the native proprietors. The power which devolves upon these proprietors, is in itself a material element in the machinery by which Indian affairs are conducted; but that is the *sole power* which they possess, with the excep-

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tion, I believe, of a very insignificant, though a very proper power, of putting a check upon some *gratuities*, to the amount of not more than £600 a-year, voted by the directors."[1] The payment of the dividends were guaranteed by the Act of 1833.

[1] By 53 Geo. III. c. 155, § 88 (1813), no *gratuities* above £600 can be paid by the Court of their own authority. Auber's "Analysis of the Constitution of the E. I. Company," p. 95,—"but no annually paid *pension*."

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CHAPTER VI.

SIR J. MACPHERSON.—LORD CORNWALLIS.

1785.—Warren Hastings[1] had left India in 1785, and Mr. (Sir J.) Macpherson, as senior member of council, succeeded as governor-general. He wrote on the 4th March, 1785, "our arrears to the army are upwards of fifty lakhs,"[2] £500,000. On the 11th April, 1785, the Court of Directors wrote, "the pay of the soldier ought never to be in arrears while there is a rupee in the treasury. He must be paid; and any other article of expenditure must be postponed to that consideration."[3]

1786. In September 1786, Lord Cornwallis[4] assumed the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief. In Oude, before the Rohillah war, the nawab had paid for a brigade of Bengal

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 2.

[2] Mill, vol. v. p. 11.

[3] Paragraph 41. In the year 1817-18 (Mahrattah war), Sir J. Malcolm drew bills on Calcutta to pay his division at a discount of 20 per cent.

[4] Mill, vol v. p. 312.

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troops;[1] and in 1777, a second brigade was paid by him, for the defence of his dominions. Lord Cornwallis found one of these brigades at Cawnpoor, and the other at Futty Ghur, to keep in obedience his subjects. The governor-general "adhered to the resolution, that the troops should not be removed." Oude was not then threatened by any particular danger. The sum to be paid he fixed at fifty lakhs of rupees yearly, £500,000.

1790. War with Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. On the 8th May, 1788, Tippoo descended from the Ghauts of Mysore,[2] and demanded the restitution of the raja of Cheika's country. Tippoo also had demanded from the raja of Travancore, our ally, the fort of Cranganore (and Jaycattah), which, he asserted, the Dutch had built upon ground belonging to *his* subject, and tributary to the raja of Cochin. On the 24th December, 1789, Tippoo encamped about four miles from the lines of Travancore, which the raja had, about the year 1763, raised to defend his northern boundary. A ditch sixteen feet broad, and twenty

[1] Six battalions of sepoys, a troop of cavalry, and company of artillery.

[2] Mill, vol. v. p. 324.

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feet deep; a strong bamboo edge, parapet, a good rampart, with bastions nearly flanking each other, constituted the defences. The raja applied for aid, and Sir Archibald Campbell (governor of Madras) agreed, and two battalions and guns were sent from Bombay. On the 29th December, 1789, Tippoo, by surprise, turned the right flank of the lines, where no passage was supposed to exist. His troops were thrown into confusion, and fled in disorder, and with heavy loss, across the ditch. Tippoo himself, with difficulty, made his own escape. The supreme government received this intelligence on the 26th January, 1790.[1] The governor-general wrote to the Madras government, and expressed "his expectation that the Madras rulers had considered Tippoo as at war, from the first moment when they heard of the attack;" and that "his intention was to employ all the resources which were within his reach, to exact a full reparation from Tippoo for this wanton and unprovoked violation of treaty." And that "endeavours should be employed to secure the assistance both of the Mahrattahs and of the nizam;[2] that instructions should be dispatched

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 335.

[2] He had in former times been the ally both of the French and the English.

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to the government of Bombay to attack his possessions on the coast of Malabar; and that in every part of India the army should be increased."

The nizam feared that the Mahrattahs, whom he considered as a villainous nation, might, in the absence of his troops from his dominions, attack them. The governor-general reckoned them as "the people whose friendship was of the greatest value." However, a treaty with the nizam, and another with the court of Poona (Mahrattahs) were signed. The objects, as declared to those powers, were, 1st. To exact indemnity for the expense of the war; 2nd. To make Tippoo restore to the nizam and peishwa whatever he or his (Tippoo's) father might have taken from those powers; 3rd. To wrest from him all that he possessed of the Carnatic and Payen Ghaut;[1] and 4th. To set the nairs of Malabar, whom he had cruelly treated, free from his dominion. General Meadows was now governor of Madras.

It was arranged[2] that General Meadows, with the principal part of the Carnatic army, should take possession of the Coimbatore country,[3] and endeavour, through the Gujulhutty Pass, to penetrate into the heart of Mysore; that General

[1] Below the Ghauts. [2] Mill, vol. v. p. 346.
[3] South of Mysore.

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Abercrombie (governor of Bombay), with the army of Bombay, should reduce the territory of Tippoo on the Coast of Malabar, and effect a junction with General Meadows, if events should render it desirable; and that Colonel Kelly should remain, for the security of the Carnatic, with a small army before the passes which led most directly from Mysore."

It was necessary to form a chain of posts from the Coromandel Coast to the foot of the pass; and Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Caroor, Erroad, and Sattimungul, were the places selected. At Caroor, the general formed a magazine for provisions; then marched to Daraporam, took it, and formed a depot, leaving there a garrison and the superfluous baggage. He then moved on to the city of Coimbatore, which was evacuated. Next Erroad was captured. Dindingal and Palacatcherry were also taken from the enemy. General Floyd surprised and took Sattimungul. The army was separated into three divisions of nearly equal strength; General Meadows, with his head quarters at Coimbatore; General Floyd, distant sixty miles, at Sattimungul, near to the bottom of the Gujulhutty pass; and Colonel Stuart at Palacatcherry, thirty miles in the rear.

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CHAPTER VII.

SECOND CAMPAIGN AGAINST TIPPOO.

In December, 1790, Tippoo[1] proceeded towards Pondicherry, where he communicated with the French governor, and engaged a French gentleman to go on a mission for six thousand French to the king of France. The king, it is said, out of compunction for having aided the Americans in resisting the English, declined compliance."

General Abercrombie, governor of Bombay, could not take the field till late in the season. On the 14th of December, he took Cannonore. All places in Malabar belonging to Tippoo were subdued, and that whole province was in possession of the English. This was the end of the first campaign.

Second campaign, 1791. The governor-general had, in 1790, intended to take the field in person, and conduct the war. He gave up that

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 355.

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intention upon learning that General Meadows was appointed governor of Madras. But the result of the first campaign disappointed him, and he feared the nizam and Mahrattahs might make a separate peace. He headed the army,[1] and determined upon the route and line of Vellore, Amboor, and Bangalore. Tippoo (hearing of Cornwallis's march towards Vellore), on the 5th of February, rapidly ascended by the passes of Changama and Policode. Cornwallis, feigning to march to Amboor, turned to the north, and was at the head of the Mooglee pass before Tippoo could obstruct his march. On the 5th of March, 1791, Cornwallis took up his position before Bangalore. The pettah[2] was assaulted on the 7th. On the 21st, Bangalore was stormed and carried. Lord Cornwallis moved northward on the 28th. Early in April, he was joined by the nizam with ten thousand (nominally fifteen thousand) well-mounted horsemen. They were useless, as they could not protect their foragers.

Preparations were made at Bangalore for the siege of Seringapatam. By the beginning of

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 375. Six Bengal battalions under Lieutenant Colonel Cockerell joined the army.

[2] "A considerable town, surrounded by a wall and ditch."

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May the equipments were ready, except in the article of cattle. News of the French Revolution, it is said, induced his lordship to a degree of precipitation. He took the route of Caunkanhully, where Tippoo had destroyed the forage. On the 13th of May, Lord Cornwallis reached Arikera, nine miles from Seringapatam. The cattle failed; the followers were in great distress,[1] for he was obliged to destroy a quantity of grain from want of carriage.

General Abercrombie, with the Bombay army, was to ascend the Ghauts from Malabar,[2] and penetrate the centre of Tippoo's dominions, to co-operate from the east. They carried, guns, stores, &c., over fifty miles of mountains, guns being "hoisted over a succession of ascents by ropes and tackle." They reached Poodicherrum by 1st of March, 1791. Lord Cornwallis not being ready to advance, he ordered Abercrombie to halt; but on his (Lord Cornwallis's) return to Bangalore, sent him orders to advance to Periapatam, three marches from Seringapatam. Lord Cornwallis marched to the ford of Caniambuddy,

[1] With Captain Little's detachment, the followers picked grain out of the dung of horses.

[2] Mill, vol. v. p. 384.

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eight miles above Seringapatam, to keep up his communication with the Bombay army. He wrote at length to General Abercrombie to return to Malabar. Lord Corwallis had determined to retire, as the season was too far advanced. He destroyed his battering guns, as did Abercrombie, burying some at the head of the pass he ascended. On the 26th May, Lord Cornwallis commenced his return. Just then, a party of Mahrattahs appeared, reporting the near approach of two armies, led by the Poona chiefs, Hurry Punt and Perseram Bhow.[1] The latter had twenty thousand horse, and Hurry Punt twelve thousand horse and foot. They had been twenty-nine weeks at the siege of Dharwar, which surrendered.

The Mahrattahs wanted money. Lord Cornwallis adopted the bold expedient[2] "of writing to the governor and council of Madras on the 21st June, to take the treasure out of the China ships, and, coining it[3] into rupees, to send it to

[1] Delayed by operations (which might have been put off) at Dharwar.

[2] Mill, vol. v. p. 392.

[3] Dollars sent from England for the purchase of tea in China. The Mahrattahs wanted twelve lakhs rupees, (£120,000).

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him with the utmost possible dispatch." When Lord Cornwallis retreated, Tippoo ordered a salute to be fired from Seringapatam, as if he had gained a victory. The ships of the season arrived before October, bringing reinforcements, and three hundred men were sent by Governor Brooke from St. Helena.

Third and last campaign, 1792. At length,[1] the third campaign commenced; and on the 5th February, 1792, the armies again appeared before Seringapatam. There was great delay in the march of the Mahrattahs under Perseram Bhow. The armies of the nizam and Hurry Punt remained useless and unemployed. Tippoo's army was estimated at five thousand cavalry, and from forty thousand to fifty thousand infantry. Lord Cornwallis formed his army into three columns, at half-past eight, P. M. (eight thousand seven hundred men),[2] and on the 6th February, 1792, attacked the lines before Seringapatam. The army had five hundred and thirty-five killed and wounded. Tippoo lost four thousand men, slain, and his army totally dispersed.

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 424.

[2] Right, three thousand three hundred; centre (Cornwallis), three thousand seven hundred; and left, one thousand seven hundred men.

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On the 8th February, 1792, Tippoo sent for Lieutenants (Sir John) Chalmers and Nash, retained as prisoners, in contempt of the capitulation of Coimbatore. He gave them presents and letters to Lord Cornwallis on the subject of peace.

Lord Cornwallis was preparing fifty heavy guns, and furnaces for heating shot, to set fire to the city, and to make breaches, which were sure of success. More troops were advancing to complete the blockade, and fifty thousand Brinjarries with bullocks were bringing in grain. On the 24th February, 1792, hostilities ceased, and Tippoo made a treaty,[1] ceding one-half of his territories to the allies, to pay three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees,[2] and to give up two of his sons as hostages. Tippoo's revenues were admitted to be, two crores thirty-seven lakhs rupees, (£2,500,000). It has before been stated that Hyder's treasure at Bednore amounted to £12,000,000; hence the great sums both he and Tippoo could expend on their military operations. Major Dirom[3] gives the strength of their allied armies at eighty-three thousand eight hundred and thirteen men, and two hundred and fifty-four

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 447. [2] About £3,300,000.
[3] Narrative, 1794, p. 241.

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guns, on the 16th March, 1792, above the Ghauts, after their operations.

Lord Cornwallis gave the troops six month's batta out of the money extracted from Tippoo. He and General Meadows resigned their shares, and also of the prize money, to the army. There were five prize agents.[1] A committee of seven officers were appointed to inspect accounts, &c. Mill says,[2] "as the English over-rated the vices of Tippoo, so they greatly over-rated his power and consequence as an enemy.

It was found, after all, that his whole revenues amounted but to £2,500,000; and, instead of the mighty treasures which he and his father were supposed to have accumulated, and which, from the number of troops they had always kept up,[3] and the expensive wars in which they had engaged, it was impossible they should have accumulated,[4] the expense of only two campaigns was found to have so completely exhausted his finances, that he was unable to pay the grain

[1] Kings, two; Madras, two; and Bengal, one.

[2] Mill, vol. v. p. 459.

[3] Mill, vol. iv. p. 175. In 1780, Hyder came with 100,000 men towards Madras.

[4] Wilks, vol. i. p. 452, says, he obtained in 1763, in the Bednore country, £12,000,000 at least.

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merchants for the most essential of all articles, when they conveyed it to his camp."

The nizam was desirous[1] of maintaining the useful connexion he had formed with the English. He had been, at times, under the guidance of the French, then under that of the English. He now regarded the English as a defence against the Mahrattahs. Between the English and Mahrattahs jealousies quickly arose. They saw, with regret, the British shield between them and the nizam. Before Tippoo was subdued, Mahadajee Sindia had marched an army towards Poona. He alarmed Nana Furnuwees, who governed in the peishwa's name; whose authority Sindia wished to usurp. He was regarded with suspicion by the English themselves. Sindia had, before the war, offered to join them; but his demands were exorbitant. One was, that the English should assist him in reducing the Rajpoot princes who resisted his conquests. Such a measure would have placed Sindia in strength to the north of the Nerbuddah. The Mahrattahs should never have been allowed to come to the north of the Nerbuddah, or into Hindostan.

At the peace, Hurry Punt wished to have, as

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 463.

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had been granted to the nizam,[1] a British subsidiary force. With the nizam, it was stipulated that they were not to act against our allies. Lord Cornwallis believed Hurry Punt desired this force to act against Sindia, already too powerful, and which had been caused by the policy of Mr. Hastings, in allowing him to become master of some of the Moghul provinces; assuming the authority of the emperor;[2] forming corps of infantry under European officers, mostly French; erecting foundries and arsenals. Had it been the policy of the British government to support the emperor when he left Allahabad in 1771, to go to Delhi, to ascend his throne, Sindia would not have gained such a prominent position in Hindostan. The government of Bengal were against the measure of granting the aid desired by the emperor. No doubt, it might have involved the English in a Mahrattah war had we attempted to place him and keep him on his throne. Lord Cornwallis regarded all attempts to check the career of Sindia "as either imprudent, or contrary to the act of parliament, and unlikely to obtain the concurrence of the ruling powers at home."

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 320. By Lord Cornwallis, 1789.

[2] Blinded by Gholam Kauder in 1788.

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He had now a board of control to deal with. With regard to Sindia, he was making his army powerful by employing European officers to discipline his troops. The French officers, no doubt, expected that they might benefit their nation at some future period by inducing Sindia and the other native powers to support the French cause, in opposition to that of the English.

1793. In 1793, the French Revolution, and the war between England and France, induced the English to attack the French possessions in India.[1] The forces of Madras were sent against Pondicherry, with Major-General Sir John Braithwaite at their head. The whole of the French settlements in India were added to the English possessions. The debt of the East India Company in 1789, was £7,604,000; the interest thereon, £480,000.

Lord Cornwallis left India in 1793,[2] and was succeeded by Mr. Shore.[3] The nawab of Bengal died, and was succeeded on the 28th of September, by Mubaruk-ad-Dowla eldest son of Uzeez-ad-Dowla.

[1] Mill, vol. v. p. 467.
[2] Mill, vol. vi. p. 20.
[3] Sir John, afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

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There existed a treaty offensive and defensive between the English, the nizam, and the Mahrattahs. To prevent the chance of war between the two latter, Lord Cornwallis framed an "extraordinary treaty," and sent it to Hyderabad and Poona, that the allies were not to assist each other, "until they were convinced that the party requiring assistance had justice on his side, and all means of conciliation had proved fruitless." This clause was anti-Asiatic; the nizam agreed to it. Sindia regarded the English with distrust; and looked upon the power of Tippoo as a counterpoise to their power. The Mahrattahs wanted to exact the Ghaut.[1] During the reigns of Shah Aulum and Jehander (about 1712), it was exacted by them from the provinces in the Deccan. They desired to make all the native princes purchase the safety of their dominions at this cost. Mahadajee Sindia died on the 12th of February, 1794;[2] and was succeeded by his nephew, Dowlut Rao Sindia. He in March, 1795, attacked the nizam.[3] "He advanced

[1] Before 1707, the Mahrattahs demanded one-tenth of the imperial provinces in the Deccan, they agreeing not to plunder them.—Mill, vol. ii. p. 440.

[2] Duff, vol. iii. p. 86.

[3] Mill, vol. vi. p. 33.

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to Beder, if not with a view to actual aggression, at least with a view to interfere in the internal affairs of the Mahrattah government, a considerable time before the movement of the Mahrattah armies." The nizam had agreed to Lord Cornwallis's proviso as to the grant of assistance; we did not assist him, nor allow any portion of our two battalions with him to join his army. At length he was compelled to conclude a peace with the Mahrattahs, on such terms as they chose to dictate—ceding country to the value of thirty-five lahks of rupees (£350,000), and the fort of Dowlutabad. Our conduct so offended the nizam that on his return to Hyderabad, he sent the English corps back to the Company's territory, and raised several corps under M. Raymond, a French officer. Mill says,[1] "The governor-general, however, would not risk offence to the Poona government, by any sort of interference more forcibly than words; and the successor of Mahadajee Sindia, his nephew Dowlut Rao, soon assembled his army from the remotest parts of his dominions, and obtained an ascendency at once in the Poona councils, and in the confederacy which was forming against the dominions of the nizam." It will

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 32.

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be seen that in 1798, it cost the Marquis Wellesley a good deal of trouble to get rid of this French force at Hyderabad. The English, however, clearly could not aid the nizam in his attack; without involving us in a war with the Mahrattahs.

On the 27th October, 1795, Mahdoo Rao, the peishwa died. Bajee Rao, the son of Rugoba, was named his successor, by the dying prince; was favoured by Dowlut Rao Sindia, and became peishwa. The vizier of Oude, Asoph-ud-Dowla had succeeded to his father Shujah-ud-Dowla; he died in 1775, and Asoph died in 1797. His brother, Saadut Ally, was put aside for Vizier Ally (a spurious son of Asoph); but ultimately the illegitimacy of the latter being proved, the former was made nawab on the 21st January, 1798. When Saadut Ally came to the musnud,[1] he agreed to a subsidy raised to seventy-six lakhs of rupees, (£760,000,) and to make over to us the fort of Allahabad. Our troops to be stationed in Oude, were in number ten thousand men, if under any contingency they should exceed thirteen thousand men, the nawab was to pay the extra cost; if they should be less than eight thousand a proportionate deduction was to be made. In 1795

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 55.

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we sent[1] an expedition from Madras and we took the Dutch settlements of Ceylon, Malacca, Banda and Amboyna. Also their possessions in India; and Cochin (on the Malabar coast) after great resistance. Also the Cape of Good Hope.

Second war with Tippoo Sultan, 1798.—There were suspicions regarding Tippoo and the Mahrattahs. Lord Mornington, who had been appointed governor-general of India, touched at the Cape of Good Hope, where he learnt from Major Kirkpatrick,[2] the state of affairs regarding the ruler of Mysore. Lord Mornington gathered more information at Madras. He reached Calcutta, on the 17th May, 1798.[3] Colonel Wellesley[4] had before reached India with his regiment, the 33rd foot. On the 8th of June, a paper was received at Calcutta purporting to be a Proclamation issued by the governor at the Isle of France in favour of Tippoo, who had sent two ambassadors to the governor of that island, for the purpose of obtaining some French officers and men for the sultan. In June 1798, several persons who had been on the island had arrived in Calcutta, and in fact, stated that on the 7th March, 1798, about

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 69.
[2] Late resident at Hyderabad.
[3] Mill, vol. vi. p. 73.
[4] The Duke of Wellington.

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two hundred French officers and men, had sailed on board the French frigate La Preneuse. The governor-general learnt that this ship reached Mangalore on the 26th April, and were well received by Tippoo. Lord Mornington at once resolved to assemble armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar for the attack of the sultan at his capital.

The French islands in the Indian seas[1] had thrown off all connection with France. The Madras government were very much averse to engaging in a war against Tippoo. As will be seen, the proofs against the sultan were overwhelming, the governor-general writes,[2] to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas: "I wish it were in my power to express my satisfaction in the alacrity with which the government of Fort St. George, have executed my orders for the defence of the Carnatic. But I am concerned to state, that notwithstanding the cordial disposition of Lord Clive to second my exertions in the public service, unnecessary and unwarrantable delays have prevailed in the military equipments in that quarter, and the moving of the battering train

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 92.

[2] Despatches, vol. i. 12th November, 1798, p. 342.

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towards the frontier, (a measure absolutely necessary for the purpose of giving effect to our negociations with Tippoo), has been delayed several weeks." The objections of some of the members of the Madras council were on account of the danger, expense, and the want of troops. Lord Mornington on one occasion wrote: "I insisted on the immediate execution of my orders." General Harris who had been the acting governor till Lord Clive's arrival[1] was most zealous in his exertions to forward the expedition. That the army should have been so totally unprepared, must have appeared singular to his lordship who in his letter dated 25th February, 1798, from the Cape of Good Hope, had written to the Court of Directors,[2] alluding to the "apprehensions entertained of the return of Zemaun Shah (king of Cabul) towards the frontier of that province (Oude), the several movements of Tippoo Sultan and the sudden suspension of the expedition *embarked for the attack of Manilla.*" In the expedition to the latter, preparations must have been made both at Madras and Bombay.

The Earl of Mornington had for some years,

[1] About August 1798.

[2] Despatches, vol. i. p. 16. (The author's *italics.*)

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before he was appointed governor-general of India, been a commissioner of the Board of Control, so that he had possessed the opportunity of obtaining a general knowledge of East India affairs before he quitted England. He had to provide an army on the north-western frontier, as a defence against the contingency of an invasion by Zemaun Shah. The shah[1] had in 1795 invaded the Punjab. In 1796 he prepared again to return to the Punjab. In 1797, he advanced unopposed to Lahore; but news of a rebellion in his own dominions, caused his retreat. In 1798, he left Peshawur on the of 25th October, and advanced without molestation to Lahore. About the end of the year, news of the invasion of Khorassan by the King of Persia (Futeh Ali Shah) caused his return to Peshawur; when he wrote to the Emperor of Delhi to state the cause of his return and his being prevented marching to Delhi; but that he would embrace the earliest occasion of returning, to replace him (Shah Alum) on his throne, and cause the Mahommedan to be the paramount power in India. To meet this difficulty there were two plans—the one of a *potitical* nature, the latter a *military* arrangement;

[1] Elphinstone's Cabul, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 337.

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while his lordship projected an attack on a formidable foe in the south of India, he was preparing for the defence of its north-west frontier. To meet the former, he directed the governor of Bombay in a letter, dated the 8th of October, 1798,[1] to send an agent to the court of Persia. Mehdy Ali Khan, the native agent at Bushire was despatched; and the result was that an attack was made, and Zemaun left the Punjab as before mentioned.

The military arrangements. The Earl of Mornington wrote to Major-General Sir J. H. Craig, on the 16th Semptember, 1798.[2] "The most useful barrier against this invasion, in the first instance, would be the resistance of the Seiks, of the Rajpoots, especially the rajas of Jyenagur (Jypoor), and Jodpoor, and of Dowlut Rao Sindia." "The substitution of regular regiments from the Company's service, in place of the nabob's own troops; or, in other words, such an increase of our force in Oude, as would warrant nearly a total reduction of the nabob's present army."[3] Finally, a force was assembled

[1] Despatches, vol. i. p. 286. [2] Vol. i. p. 261.

[3] About six thousand men were, in 1798, added to the Bengal army.

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at Anoopshuhur, seventy miles south-east from Delhi, both as a protection to the frontier of Oude, and of our own territories.

In the interval of preparation, the governor-general negotiated with the nizam for the dismission of the French officers, and the dissolution of their corps. Mill says of this force,[1] "After all the alarm which it occasioned, it consisted of less than fourteen thousand men." On the 1st of September, 1798, a treaty was concluded, and four battalions of sepoys were added to the former two, and the British government was pledged to protect the nizam against any unjust demands of the Mahrattahs. The dissolution of this force is best explained by his lordship's letter to the Right Honourable H. Dundas, president of the Board of Control.[2] "The detachment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, arrived at Hyderabad on the 10th of October; and on the 22nd of October, the British troops, under the orders of the nizam, and with the co-operation of a body of two thou-

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 94, Wellesley Despatches, vol. ii. p. 421, one hundred and twenty-four French officers.

[2] Despatches, vol. i. p. 339, 12th November, 1798; my *italics*.

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sand of his cavalry, surrounded the camp of the French army, disarmed all the sepoys, and secured the persons of all the French officers then in camp. This operation was happily effected without bloodshed, and without contest. A mutiny having broken out in the French camp on the preceding day, and the sepoys having imprisoned their officers, the resident at Hyderabad and Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, with the consent of the nizam, judiciously availed themselves of this favourable opportunity to execute this important measure, without difficulty or danger. The French officers, by my particular orders, were treated with every practical degree of attention and humanity; at the period of their arrest by our troops, their persons were in confinement, and their lives in danger from the mutiny prevailing in their camp; and the greatest difficulty which Colonel Roberts encountered, was that of rescuing the imprisoned officers from the violence of their own sepoys. Particular care was taken to save the property of the officers for their use, as well as to obtain for them *such arrears of pay and allowances as were due to them from his highness; Captain Kirkpatrick in-*

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forms me, that he has been completely successful in effecting both these desirable objects."[1]

There were political arrangements to be made at Poona. The governor-general in the same letter writes, "With respect to the camp at Poona, our affairs in that quarter also have taken a very favourable turn. Nana Furnuwees has been restored to the ministry, and has publicly taken charge of the affairs of government. I have already informed you, that the peishwa had concurred without hesitation in all my arrangements at Hyderabad, and had uniformly professed his determination to abide by his defensive engagements with us, in the event of hostilities with Tippoo. The restoration of Nana secures the peishwa's faithful execution of those engagements, and affords a strong ground of expectation of further improvements in the nature of our connexion with that state. Neither Tippoo nor the French will ever acquire any influence at

[1] Many expedients could be adopted to cause such a mutiny; but the most *simple*, no doubt, was to keep the sepoys in *arrears*. A proclamation was sent to the French camp, announcing their officers' dismissal, and "declaring it *treason* in the soldiers *to obey them*." The sepoys confined their officers. There were eleven thousand sepoys.

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Poona, while Nana shall hold the reins of power. Nana has too much wisdom to involve the Mahrattah empire in such desperate connexions." Nana died on the 13th of March, 1800,[1] "and with him," says Colonel Palmer (resident), "has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahrattah government." Duff adds, "He was decidedly averse to the admission of a body of foreign troops[2] in the manner proposed by the Marquis Wellesley, if the energies of the government could possibly be restored without their aid. He respected the English, admired their sincerity and the vigour of their government; but, as political enemies, no one regarded them with more jealousy and alarm." The former peishwa, in 1791 and 1792, had joined the English against Tippoo. The then peishwa, in 1799, would not join them against the sultan.

Lord Mornington had heard of the landing of the French in Egypt, and of the battle of the Nile, and on the 4th of November, 1798, addressed a letter to Tippoo Sultan[3] to inform him

[1] Duff, vol. iii. p. 188. [2] Subsidiary force.

[3] Despatches, vol. i. p. 321. He heard the news at Calcutta on the 18th October, 1798, of the French landing in Egypt; and on the 31st October, of the battle of the Nile (1st August).

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thereof, and of the conduct of the French. He wrote, "They have committed this act of violence in contempt of the treaties subsisting between France and the Porte (Constantinople), and without any regard to the acknowledged authority of the grand seignor, so long established in Egypt." He reported the victory of the English over the French. Tippoo, as a Mahommedan, had appealed to the grand seignor to protect the Faithful, he being one of the same faith; also to the king of Cabool, to the king of Persia, and to all the Mahommedan princes of India. He did not seem to be aware that, while he was supported by the French at the Mauritius, who had thrown off their allegiance from the mother country, the French of regal France were attacking the grand seignor by the invasion of Egypt. Tippoo was thus patronising the countrymen of those who were the enemies of the grand master of the Faithful. To meet the case in all its bearings, Tippoo addressed a letter to Napoleon Buonaparte in Egypt, and also sent ambassadors to the Isle of France, and was preparing to send a mission to the Executive Directory in France.

The governor-general, who had previously sent the Hon. Colonel Wellesley and His Majesty's

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33rd regiment to Madras, subsequently went to that presidency himself, to be on the spot to stimulate the exertions of the Madras authorities. The three campaigns in Mysore in 1790, 1791, and 1792, had made the armies of India familiar with the nature of the country where the operations were to be conducted. There must have been many officers present in India, who had before been employed in Mysore, where we were now to make another campaign. Wilks states,[1] that "although the strength of the army above the Ghauts, in 1792, exceeded in number, by upwards of six thousand men, that which was destined for the campaign of 1799, and nearly ten thousand if the corps of Nizam Ally be excluded, yet, in the former war, a number exceeding that difference was employed in the fortresses on the lines of communication;[2] and, as all the means of every description for the reduction of the enemy's capital was now to accompany the army for terminating the war by a single blow, the plan of the campaign excluded the occupation of intermediate posts, and rendered disposable about an equal number of

[1] Wilks, vol. iii. p. 398.

[2] And Tippoo had lost half his country.

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troops. The amount of those equipments, described by the modern technical designation of *materiel*, had never been equalled on any former occasion." The powers of the commander-in-chief (General Harris) were great; his authority was ordered to be obeyed, without reference, by all officers, civil and military. There was a political and diplomatic commission, composed of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, Lieutenant Close, Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew, and Captain Macaulay, as secretary, to act under the orders of General Harris.

THE FORCE IN 1799.		TOTAL.
European Cavalry	884	2,635
Native ditto	1751	
European Artillery		608
European Infantry		4,381
Native ditto		10,695
Gun Lascars		1,483
Pioneers		1,000
		20,802
Subsidary force serving with Nizam Ally		6,536
His Infantry (formerly French)		[1]3,621
		30,959
Bombay Army		6,000
Grand total		36,959

[1] The remnant of the corps disbanded in October, 1798.

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Battering Guns	40
Field Ordnance	57
Howitzers	7

Besides the field train, with the contingent of Nizam Ally, and besides his regular and irregular horse, about 6000.

Army of 1792 . . . 43,113 men.

"On the 3rd of February, 1799, his lordship dispatched his commands to General Harris,[1] to enter the territory of Mysore, with the army which had been assembled at Vellore, and to General Stuart to co-operate with the Bombay army from Malabar; while at the same time he gave intimation to the allied courts and the British admiral on the coast, that he now considered the Company as at war with Tippoo Sultan." General Harris entered the Mysore country on the 5th of March, 1799. The route for General Harris's army was by Talgautporam and Cankanelle.[2] The Bombay army, *viâ* Seedasseer.

[1] Mill, vol. vi. 111. The order of march was, the cavalry were in advance, the baggage on the right, and the nizam's contingent moved parallel, at some distance, on the right flank of the army; a strong rear-guard protected the interval between the columns. By this order of march, the whole of the baggage being between two columns, was well secured.—Beatson, p. 61.

[2] Beatson's "History of the War in Mysore," surveyor general to the army, p. 61.

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The Mahrattahs did not join; they were afraid of reducing Tippoo too low. He was considered as a counterpoise against the English.

Seringapatam was stormed by four thousand three hundred and seventy-six men in two columns.[1] Major-general Baird commanded the right column, and Lieutenant-colonel Dunlop the left. A forlorn hope of each attack consisted of a serjeant and twelve Europeans, who were followed by two subalterns' parties; that of the right column commanded by Lieutenant Hill of the 74th, that of the left column by Lieutenant Lawrence[2] of the 77th. There were during the siege:—

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.	MISSING.
European officers . .	22	45	
European N. C. O. and rank and file . .	181	122	22
Native Soldiers . .	119	420	100
	322	587	122
Total killed, wounded and missing . .			1031

Of the above officers, twenty-five were killed and wounded in the assault.

[1] Beatson, p. 125.

[2] Father of Lieut.-Colonel Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B. and of Lieut.-Colonels A. W. and G St. P. Lawrence, (Madras and Bengal armies).

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There were found in the fort:—

Brass guns	373
Mortars	60
Howitzers	11
Iron guns	466
Mortars	12
Total	922

Of which two hundred and eighty-seven were mounted on the fortifications. The number of French in Seringapatam amounted to about one hundred and twenty, including twenty officers. The whole had commissions from the French government. Colonel Beatson gives the treasure found, including jewels, £1,143,216; but the rupee is reckoned at two shillings and sixpence. Mill gives the amount at £1,000,000, of which the jewels, valued at £360,000,[1] and many officers complained of getting too great a share of jewels, which were overvalued.

The division of territory. The Company took the province of Canara, the district of Coimbatore and Daraporam,[2] and territories lying between the British possessions in the Carnatic, and those of Malabar. The nizam got Gooty and Gurrum-

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p 159. At two shillings the rupee, the value would be 914,572*l.*; but the jewels were overvalued.

[2] Beatson, p. 311.

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condah. The raja of Mysore was restored and obtained a share. The peishwa was offered a share, but obtained none; as he declined the conditions of a defensive alliance.

On the capture of Seringapatam there were found in Tippoo's Library[1] a correspondence with France, the Isle of France, and with Napoleon in Egypt. Also letters to Constantinople, calling upon the Sultan to defend the *faithful*, who were in danger from the English power. The Porte took the side of the English. Tippoo wrote also to Zemaun Shah at Cabool, and to the other native princes of India.

Mission to Persia, 1799. Captain (afterwards Sir J.) Malcolm was sent to Persia as ambassador. He sailed from Bombay in the end of 1799, arrived in Persia in 1800 and in 1801, commercial and political treaties were signed between the British and Persian governments. It was known that the French had landed in Egypt; but the result of that expedition was yet unknown. We had destroyed the French fleet on the 1st of August, 1798, at the bay of Aboukir. The attempt to invade India *viâ* Persia was a probable event. Sir J. M'Neill, formerly ambas-

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 154.

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sador at the Persian court,[1] in his "Progress and present Position of Russia" (1838), states that "Prince Nassau Siegen presented to Catherine of Russia in 1787, a project, drawn up by a Frenchman, for marching an army through Bokhara and Cashmeer to Bengal, to drive the English out of India, this to be preceded by a manifesto declarative of the intention to re-establish the Great Moghul[2] on the throne of India; and though Potemkin derided it, the plan was favorably received by the empress; and has never been forgotten in Russia." We know that Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia in a secret treaty at Tilsit in 1807, had formed a plan for the invasion of India. Mehdi Ali Khan had been sent to the Persian court early in 1799, in consequence of Zemaun Shah's march into the Punjab. The Marquis Wellesley had now more extended views as to his policy in regard to Persia. He wrote to the Court of Directors:[3] "The policy which dictated my opinion, was calculated to provide not only against the menaced invasion

[1] Sir J. M'Neill, p. 46.

[2] He had been in the hands of the Mahrattahs since 1771.

[3] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 578.—28th September, 1801.

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of Zemaun Shah, but also against the views which other powers may entertain of attacking the British possessions in India. The object is important in proportion to the hazard to which the British interests would be exposed, by a connexion between the court of Persia, and those European powers, whose views have long been directed to this quarter of the British dominions.[1] Great advantages in a commercial point of view, were likewise to be expected from the connexion which I proposed to form with the court of Persia." He wrote that Zemaun Shah of Cabool had formed a connexion with Tippoo Sultan in 1798, and now contrasted the present state of affairs, by the vicinity of the King of Persia's force to Affghanistan. The marquis desired to exclude our enemies from the Persian sea-ports; to secure the commerce of the gulf of Persia, and the settlements of British merchants in the ports of the Persian dominions.[2] Malcolm had made advantageous arrangements with the imaum of Muscat, and had produced on the mind of the

[1] The policy of England towards Persia has been very unstatesman-like,—half-and-half measures.

[2] The people of Asiatic countries are too poor to take much of our manufactures.

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pasha of Bagdad an impression favourable to British interests. By the treaty it was stipulated,[1] "That the King of Persia should lay waste with a great army, the country of the Affghans, if ever they should proceed to the invasion of India, and conclude no peace without engagements binding them to abstain from all aggressions upon the English. That should any army belonging to the French, attempt to form any settlement on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a force should be employed by the two contracting states to co-operate for their extirpation; and that if even any individuals of the French nation should request permission to reside in Persia, it should not be granted." The English bound themselves to defend Persia against the *French* or *Affghans*. We never dreamed of the *Russians*.

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 187.

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CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

On the 18th June, 1798, the Secret Committees of the Court of Directors[1] wrote to the Governor general that they had been informed by his Majesty's ministers that a large armament had sailed from Toulon on the 19th May, 1798, and that it was not impossible that India might be the object of attack, "by way of the Red Sea, or its coast, after the conquest of Egypt; or even by the Black Sea; or by Bussora." That his Majesty's ministers intended to send at least 4000 more troops to India. It was not till the 18th October, 1798, that the Governor-general received authentic intelligence of the invasion of Egypt. The Marquis Wellesley was in favour of the proposal to aid the expedition to Egypt, which was to be despatched from England under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Lord Elgin, the ambassador at Constantinople, wrote the

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 99.

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Governor-general, on the 22nd Dec. 1799[1] that Kleber remained in Egypt with fifteen thousand men, and that Buonaparte was at the head of the new government in France. Lord Elgin proposed a "powerful diversion from India, through the Red Sea, for the purpose of accelerating the evacuation of Egypt by the French, but after a full discussion of this subject with General Stuart," he writes, "I am satisfied that it would be a useless waste of treasure and blood to attempt such an expedition on a large scale, unless the whole plan of co-operation from the Mediterranean had been previously concerted." The idea was originally proposed by the Marquis who,[2] on the 16th May, 1799, wrote to Mr. Dundas, as soon as he had heard of the fall of Seringapatam, "If the French should be established in Egypt, it might be advisable to consider whether an expedition might not be fitted out from India, to co-operate, by way of the Red Sea, with any attempt which might be undertaken from the Mediterranean. I cannot venture to prepare any such expedition without orders

[1] Marquis of Wellesley's letter, 5th March, 1801, to Right Hon. H. Dundas.—Despatches, vol. ii. p. 227.

[2] Despatches, vol. i. p. 587.

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from England; but if I should receive them, you may be assured that they will be executed with alacrity and diligence not only by me, but by the whole army of India.

In his letter to Vice Admiral Rainier, the naval commander-in-chief in India, he writes,[1] alluding to the expedition to Egypt, "I find myself compelled to suspend a second time the final execution of his Majesty's commands respecting Batavia." To Vice-admiral Sir Roger Curtis, at the Cape, he wrote, 24th Oct. 1800,[2] his expectation that France would endeavour at an early period to throw a strong reinforcement into the Isle of France. On the 5th November, 1800, the Marquis wrote to the Honourable Colonel Wellesley,[3] appointing him to the command of an expedition to be assembled at Trincomalee, in the end of December, 1800, to be applied "to proceed up the Red Sea, in order to co-operate with the British force, which may be employed in Egypt from the side of the Mediterranean." Then "that a blow might be struck with every prospect of success against the Isle

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 401.—22nd October, 1800.
[2] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 406.
[3] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 413.

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of France," if the troops should not be required for Egypt.[1] At last Mr. Dundas's orders of the 6th October, 1800, were received on the 6th February, 1801,[2] directing one thousand European and two thousand Native Infantry to be sent from India to the proposed place of rendezvous in the Red Sea, with as little delay as possible, to co-operate with Sir Home Popham. Mr. Dundas had,[3] by a letter dated October, 1800, to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, informed him that the force he was to command would be fifteen thousand men; and that in order to ensure the success of the British force, five thousand men are ordered to co-operate from India, and to possess themselves of the French posts on the Red Sea.

On the 10th February, 1801,[4] the Marquis having decided on sending the force to Egypt, wrote to Major-general Baird, who was to command it.[5] The force he stated to be:—

[1] 10th, 19th, and 80th foot, Bengal volunteers (1,000), and artillery.

[2] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 436.

[3] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 416.

[4] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 440.

[5] General Baird urged his claim to the command.

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	MEN
At Ceylon, H. M.'s 10th Regts. . .	1,000
,, ,, 19th ,, . .	750
,, ,, 80th ,, . .	750
,, Detachments H. M.'s 86th and 88th Regts. . .	500
	3,000
Bengal native volunteers . . .	1,000
European and native artillery, about two companies, with lascars attached, computed	200
At Bombay—Native infantry . .	1,600
European artillery, about one company, &c.	100
	5,900
Some artillery from Madras . . .	100
Total . . .	6,000

The 19th foot did not go.

Rear Admiral Blankett sailed from Bombay for the Red Sea, on the 28th December, 1800; he had the Bombay frigate, two bomb vessels, three small cruisers, one armed vessel—four hundred and fifty tons, one store ship, two brigs from one hundred to two hundred tons, capable of being converted into fire-ships, one launch fitted as a gun-boat, with a twenty-four pound carronade, three ketches, one hundred and fifty tons each, two armed boats eighty tons each.

There was a difficulty in obtaining men of

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war to accompany the expedition. The Marquis states, in his letter 5th February, 1801,[1] to Vice Admiral Rainier, "Your Excellency has stated as the ground of your determination not to co-operate in the proposed expedition against the Isle of France, involved no question of detail, the reasons of your Excellency's dissent being founded simply on the want of his Majesty's express commands to authorize your co-operation in the intended enterprise." The Marquis observes "I conceive that his Majesty's naval commander is not only justified in complying with my application, but absolutely required to aid me, unless the condition of his ships shall preclude their co-operation; or unless, in his conscientious judgment, the attempt which I propose may appear to be impracticable, or dangerous to the public service. The want of his Majesty's express commands will never be received either by his Majesty, or by the public, as an admissible justification of the conduct of any public officer for declining to co-operate against the enemy in an attack which appears to be practicable, and

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 755. (Most secret, B.) This was written on the day before Mr. Dundas's order came, when the expedition was altered to Egypt.

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which promises advantage to the general cause."[1] The Secretary of State, Lord Hobart, in his letter to the Marquis dated 5th May, 1802, says,[2] "Upon the subject of your proposed attack upon the Mauritius,"—"No doubt can be entertained that his dissent to co-operate with your Lordship in that expedition, proceeded from a sense of duty. I am to express his Majesty's entire approbation of the general principles laid down by you lordship in your letter of the 5th of February 1801, with respect to the conduct of the naval and military services." This letter was received on 18th September, 1802, and conveyed the order for the return of the Indian army, from Egypt. In his letter to the admiral, dated 10th February, 1801,[3] the Marquis wrote that it was possible that before the armament from India arrived in the Red Sea, the French may have been compelled to evacuate Egypt. In this case, or if it should be found impracticable for the troops from India to act with effect on the coasts of the Red Sea, it is my wish that the armament

[1] Mr. Dundas's letter, signifying his Majesty's pleasure as to sending troops from India to the Red Sea, arrived next day.

[2] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 701.

[3] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 759.

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should be employed as speedily as possible in the reduction of the Isles of France and Bourbon, or of Batavia, according as the condition of the armament at the period of leaving the Red Sea, shall appear to recommend in the judgment of the naval and military officers in the chief command of the forces." [1]

Sir Robert T. Wilson [2] gives the forces under Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie at fifteen thousand three hundred and thirty men. The troops landed on the 8th March, 1801. General Baird reached Bombay on the 31st March, 1801. Some ships sailed on the 3rd April.[3] The Honourable Colonel Wellesley was to have sailed in the "Susannah"[4] as second in command; but he was in a bad state of health, and his services were much required in Mysore. Sir R. Wilson says,[5] General Baird's object was to land at Suez. Unfortunately, the monsoon had commenced before he entered the Red Sea,

[1] The expedition against the French islands took place in 1810, and against Java in 1811.

[2] "History of the Expedition to Egypt," (published 1803), p. 13.

[3] "Life of General Baird," vol. i. p. 239.

[4] She was lost.

[5] Vol. i. p. 262.

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and it was found impossible to gain his destination; but, learning at Jedda the successes of the English on the 21st March, transmitted to him by Admiral Blankett, he determined to land at Cossir, and brave the difficulties of the desert. On the 8th of June, 1801, he arrived at Cossir. He found Colonel Murray, the adjutant-general, there, who had been sent on in advance. The vizier's firmans had procured him five thousand camels. He arrived at Kinnéh on the 30th of June, and immediately arranged the march of the remaining divisions, facilitating their passage by establishing posts at the different wells in the desert, and digging others. It was not till the latter end of July that his army had assembled, and even then several detachments were missing. The collected force, including the troops from the Cape,[1] amounted to five thousand two hundred and twenty-six rank and file:—

	MEN.
East India Company's artillery . .	448
,, ,, Native troops .	1,940
King's troops	2,838
	5,226

[1] 61st, and detachments of 66th and 88th foot; the 19th foot did not go; these, and the troop, 8th light dragoons, came from the Cape (dismounted).

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There were a detachment of the royal artillery, Bengal horse [1] and foot, and Madras and Bombay foot artillery; engineers, royal, Bengal, Madras and Bombay; Madras pioneers; his majesty's 8th light dragoons, 10th foot, 61st foot, 80th foot, 86th foot, 88th foot, Bengal volunteers, native infantry, 1st Bombay native infantry, 7th Bombay native infantry, including officers, sergeants, drummers, &c. Sir R. Wilson gives six thousand three hundred and ninety-three, and, including lascars (four hundred and forty), and public and private servants, a total of seven thousand five hundred and forty-six persons. General Baird reached the island of Rhoda, near Cairo, on the 27th August. Baird reached Rosetta on the 30th of August, 1801, and was pushing on to Alexandria, when he heard from General Hutchinson (then commander-in-chief), that the French general (Menou) had sent a flag of truce to treat for the surrender of Alexandria.

In the landing in Egypt, General Abercrombie lost six hundred and forty, killed and wounded. In all the operations, three thousand six hundred and ninety-five men, and eighty-nine horses, were

[1] First time used by the Indian army under Captain Clement Brown.

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killed, wounded and missing.[1] On the 30th March, 1801, the army is stated[2] to be nineteen thousand four hundred and ten men; while Sir R. Wilson[3] at the commencement states, that the "British army consisted of the following regiments, amounting to fifteen thousand three hundred and thirty men, including nine hundred and ninety-nine sick, and five hundred Maltese, and all kinds and descriptions of men attached to an army, except officers. Its effective force in the field could not be, therefore, at the highest computation, above twelve thousand; and, indeed, that number, within two hundred, was the return given in to the commander-in-chief." The above did not include General Baird's army. There is no explanation to show how the army, which was on the 8th of March, on landing, fifteen thousand three hundred and thirty men, should have amounted to nineteen thousand four hundred and ten men, after the losses in the various operations. The 89th foot descended the Nile with Baird's force.

[1] Wilson, vol. ii. pp. 145 and 3529, to the 21st March, 1801, inclusive.

[2] Wilson, vol. ii. p. 141.

[3] Wilson, vol. i. p. 13.

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On the 30th of August,[1] General Hope went into Alexandria to sign the capitulation. On the morning of the 2nd September, 1801, Lord Keith came to shore to ratify the terms, and a capitulation was concluded, which embraced every desirable object, without unnecessarily degrading the conquered. In the evening of the 1st September, General Baird and Colonel Auchmuty[2] arrived at General Hutchinson's tent, "His army had been encamped on the island of Rhoda until the 28th of August, when it re-embarked in *jerms*,[3] and reached Rosetta on the 31st. The Indian army in very fine order, disembarked and encamped near Aboumandour. Whilst at Rhoda, this army had attracted much surprise and admiration. The Turks were astonished at the novel spectacle of men of colour being so well disciplined and trained; indeed, the general magnificence of the establishment of the Indian army was so different from what they had been accustomed to see in General Hutchinson's, that the contrast could not fail of being striking. But General Baird

[1] Wilson, vol. ii. p 37.

[2] Afterwards Sir Samuel.

[3] *Jerms*, decked boats, with two latteen sails, not drawing much water; well calculated for crossing the bar at Cairo.

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proved to them also that his troops were not enfeebled, or himself rendered inactive by these superior comforts. Every morning at day-light he manœuvred his army for several hours, and in the evening again formed his parade. Never were finer men seen than those which composed this force, and no soldiers could possibly be in higher order."

General Baird had passed his army from Kinnéh, by divisions in germs. Ten days were necessary to perform this voyage, the distance being near five hundred miles. Nothing particular had occurred during the passage. The inhabitants furnished, when required by catchief, or Arab officer, the different supplies very readily, for which, to their astonishment, they were immediately paid. "The heat in the boats has been very great, the thermometer being generally above a hundred degrees."

Alexandria[1] could not have long resisted the necessity of a capitulation; a fact known to General Hutchinson. The garrison was in great distress, and threatened by the near approach of famine.[2] Wilson says, "The walls of old Alex-

[1] "Annual Register," 1801, p. 238.

[2] Wilson, p. 37, says Menon invited General Hope to dinner; "The repast was only horse-flesh."

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andria could not have resisted an hour's battering, and the breach once made, the Turks could have entered the ruins, in which they would have fought as well, if not better, than European regulars." He adds, "General Menon's force did not justify his longer resistance."[1] Of the whole number of French sent to Egypt in the course of three years, there returned twenty-three thousand.[2] Sir Ralph Abercrombie was killed in the action of the 21st March, 1801; Napoleon Buonaparte left Egypt and returned to France in October, 1799. His successor, Kleber, was assassinated at Cairo, in June, 1801.

The Indian expedition had to contend with many difficulties. "The navigation of the Red Sea was arduous,[3] difficult, and dangerous, from rocks and shoals, and contrary winds, blowing sometimes directly from the quarter of their destination. Two of their transports were lost, and many others damaged." The Susannah transport was lost. It is said the Honourable Colonel Wellesley was to have sailed in that vessel, had he gone as second in command. It

[1] Wilson, p. 51.

[2] "Annual Register," p. 239. The French (p. 226) were said to be thirty thousand when we landed.

[3] "Annual Register," 1801, p. 237.

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was a fortunate thing for Great Britain, that he remained in India.

The Desert—"This long and toilsome march they could not have performed without the friendly aid of the Mamalukes and Arabs."

From the return of the garrison of Alexandria it appears there were:[1]

Cavalry and infantry, including officers and non-commissioned officers	5,965
Artillery	759
Corps of dromedaries, Syrians, horse and foot guides, together	278
Marine artillery	290
Sappers and miners	139
Seamen (doing duty in garrison)	1,230
	8,661
Artificers	122
Greeks	118
Invalids	240
Sick	1,387
	10,528
Civil department	685
Grand total	11,213

The arrival of Baird's army more than replaced the loss of the British army from the 8th March,

[1] Wilson, vol. ii. p. 53.

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to the 25th August, 1801. Wilson[1] gives a return of nineteen thousand four hundred and ten of all ranks, on the 21st February, 1801, before the landing, and states the rank and file "present, fit for duty," at fourteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-five men, and adds, "but on the debarkation in Egypt, so many men were necessarily left on board ship to take care of the sick, stores, &c., that not twelve thousand fighting men rank and file landed." There is no doubt that the advance of Baird's army near Cairo in August, and the addition to the British force under General Hutchinson must have hastened the capitulation of Alexandria.

Wilson says,[2] "In a military point of view, Egypt is of vast importance. The Ottoman empire totters, and India must be terror-struck if France should be ever allowed the possession." He says that the destruction of Tippoo Sultan, and the occupation of the sea ports on that coast render a "maritime expedition from Egypt nearly impossible." "Few perhaps," he adds, "know that Paul I. drew from the archives this import-

[1] Wilson, vol. ii. p. 139. The killed and missing of all ranks were six hundred and thirty-two.

[2] Wilson, vol. ii. p. 89.

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ant project,[1] and attempted, in concert with France, the realization; when fortunately for humanity and his country, death defeated his schemes of ambition and unnatural enmity." He says in a note, "One division was already on its march, which was to have been followed by another: when a corps of fifty thousand men would have assembled in the autumn of 1801, on the borders of the Caspian Sea."

In March or April, 1799, a detachment was sent to the island of Perrim, in the Red Sea, consisting of two companies of his Majesty's 84th regiment, and a company of Bombay Artillery, under Colonel Murray, 84th regiment. The object was to endeavour to prevent the French from invading India by that route. It was under the impression that cannon shot would reach across the straits—the narrowest part being three miles, the broadest several miles. The island had no water or vegetation of any kind; water and provisions were procured from the Abyssinian coast.

The island of Perrim, or Mapan, is midway between Aden and Mocha, in the Straits of Bab-

[1] Wilson, vol. ii. p. 93. That given to the Empress Catherine of Russia, in 1787.

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el-Mandeb, and in the middle of the straits. The side towards the coast of Africa is about three miles; that towards Abyssinia, or the opposite coast, is twelve or sixteen miles, and there are eight little islands, called the eight brothers, or Sowanba, in the above distance, between the island and the Abyssinian shore. To prevent the French coming down the Red Sea in vessels from Suez, and passing through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, might have been effected, if batteries erected on the island could command the straits on both sides. The distance on the Abyssinian side was too great, and the eight little islands intervened. The island has a good harbour in the shape of a horse-shoe. After staying several months there, they sailed with Admiral Blankett; but not being able to beat up to Suez against the monsoon, they sailed to Aden, remained there some months, then left it and worked up to Suez, with a view of joining the Turkish army, but the treaty of El-Arish had been signed by Sir W. Sidney Smith. Lord Keith objected to the provision of the treaty by which the French were to be sent to France as prisoners of war; upon which Kleber declined

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to have anything to do with the treaty.[1] Lord Nelson wrote,[2] "But I cannot bring myself to believe that they (French) would entirely quit Egypt; and, if they would, I never would consent to one of them returning to the continent of Europe, during the war."

Our possession of Aden, with a naval force there, would now command the Red Sea, and prevent any expedition coming down that sea from Suez. During the campaign on the Sutlej, (1845-46) a proposal was spoken of to obtain the pasha's consent for troops, without their arms, being allowed a passage through Egypt.

Egypt.—Its importance.—Napoleon[3] said, that whatever European nation obtained possession of Egypt would conquer India. It was remarked by the author, that so long as Great Britain secured a superior navy in the Red Sea, no other power could invade India from Egypt, upon which a very high official observed to him, that the British navy in India was not of sufficient

[1] An officer of the Bombay army, who accompanied Colonel Murray, as well as Sir D. Dundas's force to Egypt, gave this information.

[2] Despatches, vol. iv. p. 157.

[3] Dr. O'Mera's "Voice from St. Helena."

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strength. Marquis Wellesley[1] wrote on the 22nd of October, 1800, to Vice-admiral Rainier, the naval commander-in-chief, regarding the naval preparations for the expedition, " Your Excellency may be assured that I shall employ every possible effort to provide for the protection of the sand heads, and of the northern part of the bay of Bengal against the enemy's cruizers, and that I shall direct the government of Bombay to adopt similar measures for the defence of the trade on that side of India, with a view to enable your Excellency to concentrate your force with more facility, for the urgent and important purposes of offensive or defensive operations on an extended scale." The marquis obtained no assistance from the navy in the expedition to Egypt, the Bombay marine (now Indian navy) and armed vessels took that duty, and Indiamen armed *en flute* were appointed as cruizers in the bay of Bengal.

Provisions and tonnage for the expedition.—The marquis in writing to Lieutenant-general Sir R. Abercrombie[2] says, " And by commencing these arrangements at the opening of the season for salting provisions, I was enabled to command

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 404.

[2] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 461.—28th February, 1801.

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such a supply of the article of salt provisions, as if now ordered, would not be procurable before the month of December, 1801, or of January, 1802. A similar advantage enabled me to secure the necessary transport at the proper season; and for this purpose I was compelled to employ the whole available tonnage off the port of Calcutta." He next said, " the season for salting will not re-commence in any part of India until the month of November. I expect, however, that a considerable supply of this article may be procurable from the American and Danish ships, which frequent the ports of India, and which usually import salt provisions as an article of trade.[1]

Addresses to the Arab chiefs.—The shereef of Mecca, the imaum of Senna, and the sultan of Aden[2] were addressed, calling upon them to aid the operations of the expedition. He said, " You have no other security for the preservation of your independence, and for the maintenance of your rights, than a determination to resist the force, and to frustrate the frauds of the French nation. You are called upon, therefore, by every motive of interest and of self-preservation, by

[1] Too uncertain a resource to rely upon.

[2] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 471.

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every principle of national honour and religious attachment, to unite your efforts with the combined exertions of the British power, and of the Ottoman state, for the expulsion of the French from Egypt."

Amount of supplies sent;[1] *provisions for three thousand five hundred Europeans, shipped from Bengal, Bombay, and Fort St. George.*

	DAYS.
Salt provisions, 1 lb. each per day, for	372
Biscuit, 1 lb. „ „	281
Rum, ½ pint „ „	294
Tea, 1 lb. for five men per week	440
Sugar, 1 lb. each per week	379
Rice, 1 lb. „ „	379
Salt, 1 oz. each per day	200

Provisions for five thousand Natives.

Salt, 1 oz. per day	160
Sugar, 2 oz. „	131
Mustard Seed, 1 oz. per day	196
Dholl,[2] 6 oz. „	304
Ghee, 2 oz. „	189
Turmeric, ½ oz. „	44
Garlic, ½ oz. „	52
Chillies, ½ oz. „	52
Boot gram, 6 oz. „	138

[1] Despatches, vol. v. p. 158.—Extract dated 23rd of February, 1801.

[2] Split peas.

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			DAYS.
Tamarinds,	2 oz.	„	89
Churah,[1]	16 oz.	„	52
Oil,	1 oz.	„	44
Sweetmeats,	6 oz.	„	20
Parched gram,	4 oz.	„	18
Rice,	1½ lb.	„	236
Water for 8,500 men			126
Firewood,	„		314
Wheat, 1 lb. each per day, for 8,500 men			79
Vinegar, 1 quart to five men per week			250

Hospital Stores.

Maderia	45 pipes.
Port Wine	244 dozens.
Lime Juice	385 gallons.
Vinegar	1,175 „
Essence of Malt	3 casks.
Molasses	9 maunds, 30 seas.[2]
Medicines and instruments	20 cases.

General Stores.

Wax Candles, maunds 183 (about)	15,000 lbs.
Cheese	5,636 „
Potatoes	177,828 „
Tobacco	141,217 „

Proposed to despatch in the next month.

Biscuit, for 2 months . 3,000 maunds (246,000 lbs).

[1] "Grain reduced to coarse particles, to be chucked into the mouth." This, and the sweetmeats and parched grain, were to be used when the sepoys could not cook.

[2] About 800 lbs.

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Raisins, for 2 months	.	400 maunds (32,800 lbs).	
Rum,	70 days	.	15,000 gallons.
Sugar,	200 „	.	1,500 maunds.
Ghee,	90 „	.	700 „
Turmeric,	60 „	.	187 „
Garlic,	60 „	.	187 „
Chillies,	60 „	.	187 „
Oil,	90 „	.	360 „
Boot gram .	.	.	2,000 „
Rice . .	.	.	6,000 „

The troops returned to India from Egypt in July and August 1802. Medals were given to the troops. The European officers received gold medals. On the 15th November, 1801, the news arrived at Alexandria, that the preliminaries of peace had been signed.[1] Peace was signed on the 25th March, 1802. It had been supposed that a convention had been signed between France and Portugal, or to be in agitation. The marquis writes to the president of the committee of Canton[2] that, agreeably to orders from his majesty's ministers, Vice-Admiral Rainier "will certainly appoint a naval force for the purpose of protecting the settlement of Macao (Portuguese) from any attempt on the part of the government of France to gain possession of it."

[1] Wilson, vol. ii. p. 78.

[2] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 612.

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It is probable, that the Mauritius and Bourbon would have been attacked on the return of the troops from Egypt; but the treaty had been signed on the 25th March, and the troops did not return to India till August.

Oude.—1801. On the 14th November, 1801, a treaty with the vizier of Oude[1] was ratified by the Marquis Wellesley, "by which the nawab ceded a country, producing 13,523,474 rupees of revenue, including expense of collection; and the authority of the British government over the remainder was provided for by the words, "And the honourable the East India Company hereby guarantee to his excellency the vizier, and to his heirs and successors, the possession of the territories which will remain to his excellency after his territorial cession, together with *the exercise of his and their authority* within the said dominions. His excellency engages that he will establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers), as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants. And his excellency will always advise with, and *act in*

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 245.

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conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the said honourable Company." The Company's troops were not paid with regularity by the vizier, and were often in arrears. The marquis obtained a grant of territory in lieu of the nawab's paying the troops in the irregular manner noticed. A certain portion of the Company's troops stationed in the nawab's dominions received "double full batta;" this allowance was now discontinued. Sadat Khan, the founder of the family of Oude, is only noticed in 1720.[1]

Resignation of the Marquis Wellesley.[2] On the 1st of January, 1802, the marquis conveyed to the court his wish to be relieved before the end of the current year. He assigned no other causes, "than the successful accomplishment of the most essential branches of his general plan for the security of India; the prosperity of the existing state of affairs, and his expectation of completing in the course of the year as great a proportion of improvement in the affairs of India, as he could hope to accomplish within any period

[1] Elphinstone's "History of India," vol. ii. p. 587. It was only after the battle of Panniput (7th January, 1761) that he rose to power.

[2] Mill, vol. vi. p. 354. Despatches, vol. ii. p. 616.

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of time to which his government could be reasonably protracted." To Mr. Addington, the secretary of state,[1] his lordship is more explicit, wherein he imputes to the court of directors a want of confidence in him. It appears that in 1805, the draft of a despatch, censuring his lordship[2] for the policy pursued by the Bengal government in 1803 and 1804, was signed by twenty-three of the Court of Directors; which draft was cancelled by the Board of Control. The marquis was solicited to remain, and very fortunate it was for India.

The treaty of Amiens,[3] signed 25th March, 1802, contained an article (article xix.) regarding Egypt. "The present definite treaty of peace is declared common to the sublime Ottoman Porte, the ally of his Britannic majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession as soon as possible." The Marquis Cornwallis was our ambassador in Paris. He was unwell, and unable to attend the signing on the

[1] Despatches, vol. iii. introduction p. iv., 10th January, 1802.

[2] E. I. Affairs, vol. 1832, Appendix, p. 138.

[3] Annual Register, 1802, p. 608, including France, Spain, the Dutch, and Great Britain. (Signed), Buonaparte, Corwallis, Azara, and Schimmelpenninck.

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exact day, but wrote that he would sign next day, and to consider his signature as affixed. During the day he received a letter from his own minister, objecting to a certain part of one of the articles. He kept his promise, and signed the treaty. Napoleon formed a high opinion of the marquis from this strict adherence to his word; but said he should expect one of his ambassadors to act differently.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE MAHRATTAH WAR, 1803.

THE peishwa had declined in 1799 to join us against Tippoo. The marquis was convinced that the peishwa was perfectly favourable to the British interests, though he would not enter into our defensive policy.[1] At the end of the war in 1799, doubts of his faith were confirmed, "by a correspondence between Tippoo Sultan and his agents at Poona, and by letters from Nana Furnuwees,[2] and other Mahrattah chieftains, to Tippoo Sultan, which were discovered among the records of Seringapatam. The combined evidence of those documents, and of the peishwa's conduct during the war, affords unequivocal proofs of the hostility of his disposition towards the British power, and justifies a conclusion, that, if fortune had appeared to favour the enemy, the peishwa would openly have espoused his cause."

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 374.

[2] He died on the 13th March, 1800.—Duff, vol. iii. p. 187.

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Holkar as connected with Poona.—Juswunt Rao Holkar succeeded Tukajee Holkar in 1797.[1] He collected an army on the Nerbuddah, and on the 14th of October, 1801, was defeated by Sindia. The governor-general now proposed "the system of general defensive alliance and guarantee." Holkar, early in 1802, recovered his loss of troops and artillery. He demanded the release of the infant Khundee Rao, the son of Mulhar Rao.[2] Juswunt Rao was the youngest son of Tukajee. Sindia had possession of the infant who was of right the heir. Sindia had destroyed Mulhar Rao. Etojee was murdered. Cashee Rao was declared to be imbecile. Dowlut Rao Sindia held despotic authority over the peishwa. Holkar would listen to no accommodation, till the infant was restored.[3] He met Sindia's army at Poona on the 25th of October, 1802; Holkar obtained a decisive victory. In the disturbed state of

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 381.

[2] Tukajee's sons were, Cashee Rao, Mulhar Rao, Etojee (or Wittoojee) Holkar, and Juswunt Rao Holkar. (*See* Duff, vol. iii. p. 148.) The two latter illegitimate.

[3] The son of Mulhar Rao. Cashee Rao, being imbecile, Mulhar Rao (legitimate son) had the best claim on the death of his father. Sindia of course wished to gain by holding Khundee Rao in his hands.

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affairs, the governor-general wished the restoration of the peishwa; he had consented to receive a "permanent force of the Company's infantry, to the extent of six battalions," with the usual artillery, and to assign twenty-five lakhs rupees (£250,000) of territory in Hindostan. Both Holkar and Sindia dreaded this plan, as it would place the head of the Mahrattah nation[1] in the hands of the English, and under their control. Alarmed, the peishwa fled.[2] Holkar, no doubt, wished to seize the peishwa's person, and exercise the same control as Sindia had done; Holkar's object seemed evident. "Disappointed in this prospect, Holkar turned his views to Amrut Rao, the adopted son of the peishwa's father, the late Rugoba (Rugonath Rao);" the attempt to elevate the latter, in 1779, to the office of peishwa nearly caused the destruction of a portion of the Bombay army. He placed him on the musnud. Mr. H. H. Wilson says, "as regent for his son Vinayak Rao."

The governor-general resolved to restore Bajee Rao.[3] He did not think that Sindia would op-

[1] The Raja of Sattara being in prison.

[2] Mill, vol. vi p. 397.

[3] Mill, vol. vi. p. 408.—10th February, 1802.

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pose the measure singly, or united with Holkar; nor did he suspect the Berar raja's interference. Colonel Collins (resident) had reported that there was to be an interview between Sindia and the Berar raja;[1] and that Sindia had made peace with Holkar. Sindia told Colonel Collins, "after my interview with the raja (Berar), you shall be informed whether it will be peace or war." On the 4th of July, 1803, Colonel Collins[2] had an interview in the tent of the Berar raja with him and Sindia. Sindia declared "that the treaty of Bassein (31st of December, 1802), contained no stipulation injurious to the rights of any of the feudatory Mahrattah chieftains; but on the contrary, expressly provided for their security and independence." But what they objected to was not the terms, but the persons who made them and carried them out. The Berar raja and Sindia considered it a (Mahrattah) family measure, in which they ought to be consulted. This will the more strongly appear in the case of the raja of Berar who, in 1817 (in the succeeding war), received the same peishwa's commission as commander-in-chief!

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 422.
[2] Mill, vol. vi. p. 431.

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On the 31st July, 1803, Colonel Collins had a last interview. These chieftains proposed "that the forces[1] of the raja, and of Sindia should, in conjunction retire to Boorhanpoor;[2] While the British general (Wellesley) should withdraw his troops to their usual stations. This was to withdraw our troops from the position they were in to aid the peishwa; and have these two chiefs in an attitude of defiance, and with the power of marching on and seizing Poona. The Berar raja had always maintained pretensions to the supreme ministerial authority in the Mahrattah empire, founded on his affinity to the reigning raja of Satara.[3] It would, therefore, seem strange that the raja never thought of the restoration of the raja of Satara to power. We did release the raja in 1818, and gave him a little principality.

War was now declared.[4] On the western side of India, exclusive of Guzerat, on the 4th June, 1803, the forces ready amounted to twenty-five thousand six hundred and fifty-three men; of

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 435.

[2] North-west side of the river Taptee. Lat. 21 deg. 20 min. north; long. 76 deg. 20 min. east.

[3] Mill, vol. vi. p. 440.

[4] The peishwa was restored by General Wellesley, on 7th May, 1803. (Mill, vol. vi. p. 419.)

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these nine thousand nine hundred and twelve were under General Wellesley; of the rest under Colonel Stevenson, eight thousand three hundred and eighty-nine, and Colonel Murray in Guzerat seven thousand three hundred and fifty-two.[1] Major-general Campbell had a reserve of four thousand and thirty-two men at Moodgul, fourteen marches from Hyderabad. There was a force on the Bengal side of one thousand three hundred men under Colonel Fenwick at Midnapoor not far from Calcutta; of two thousand men under Major-general Deare, stationed at Mirzapoor, on the Ganges, as a protection to the province and city of Benares. A force of four thousand nine hundred and sixteen was assembled under Colonel Harcourt, of Madras and Bengal troops for the conquest of Cuttack, belonging to the raja of Berar. A force was assembled on the south bank of Soane under Lieutenant-colonel Broughton. A force of three thousand five hundred men under Lieutenant-colonel Powell, were collected near Allahabad, for the purpose of invading the province of Bundelcund: while the grand army under General Lake, commander-in-chief

[1] Thorn's "Memoir of the War from 1803 to 1806," pp 70 to 75.

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in India, amounted to ten thousand five hundred men, these two forces acted under his excellency's orders. The total British force was about fifty thousand men. The Mahrattah forces were estimated[1] at two hundred and fifty thousand: and forty thousand men organized and drilled by French officers under M. Perron; and one thousand guns.

The Marquis was desirous of striking a blow before the cold season should allow the Mahrattahs to cross the Nerbuddah into Hindostan. On the 29th August, 1803, General Lake defeated Perron's troops under the walls of Allyghur[2]—stormed and carried the fort on the 4th September, fought the battle of Delhi on the 11th September,[3] when he released the Emperor, Shah Allum, who had been imprisoned for many years by the Mahrattahs. His eyes had been put out by Ghoolam Khadir. General Lake took Agra on the 18th October, 1803. M. Perron allowed his second in command (M. Pedron) to make his military arrangements, while he himself returned with his body guard to Agra. The capture of Allyghur was effected by blowing

[1] Thorn, p. 315. [2] Thorn, p. 91.
[3] Thorn, p. 111.

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open the gate. General Wellesley wrote,[1] "I think that General Lake's capture of Allyghur is one of the most extraordinary feats that I have heard of in this country. I never attacked a fort that I did not attempt the same thing, namely, to blow open the gates, but I have never succeeded; I have always taken them by escalade, which appears to have been impossible in this instance." Lake wrote,[2] on the 4th of September, 1803, to the Marquis, "I am convinced that after a regular siege, we must have had the same difficulties to encounter; the strength of the place cannot be described but by a drawing." A seventy-four might sail in the ditch. The engineer and Colonel Horsford (Artillery) both think that, after a breach had been made, we should have lost as many men as we now have, besides what would have fallen during a siege, which would have lasted nearly a month. All these points being considered, the delay that would have been caused in the execution of your orders, and the certainty of giving spirit to the Mahrattah chiefs, who would then have been inclined to flock to the Frenchman's standard, I feel happy at having

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 414.—14th October.

[2] Marquis of Wellesley's Despatches, vol. iii. p. 293.

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gained the fort, which stood out for more than an hour." The loss was two hundred and sixty-three of all ranks, killed and wounded. Lieut. Lucan, late lieutenant of his Majesty's service, 74th, who had lately quitted the service of Sindia, to whom this fort belonged, guided the party in. The assault of the storming party was covered by a "heavy fire from the two batteries already mentioned."[1] The storming party consisted of four companies of his Majesty's 76th regiment, and two battalions and four companies of native infantry—above two thousand men.

General Lake marched from Allyghur on the 7th September, 1803, and arrived within six miles of Delhi on the 11th of September.[2] The enemy's force was under M. Louis Bourquein, amounting to nineteen thousand men, of whom six thousand were cavalry. Lake's force amounted to about four thousand five hundred men. The enemy crossed the river to attack our troops, and advanced, leaving his entrenchments. The cavalry had advanced in the first instance, but

[1] Thorn, p. 96. During the night, two covering batteries of four eighteen-pounders each, were erected to protect the approach of the storming party.

[2] Thorn, p. 110.

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as soon as the infantry came up the cavalry retired to the rear. The infantry charged and took the enemy's guns, sixty-eight in number. The enemy fled, and were pursued by our cavalry, and the galloper guns[1] destroyed many of the fugitives. The importance of this victory was very great. General Lake wrote[2] to the Marquis, "such a fire of cannon has seldom been seen, if ever, against which our army marched up within one hundred yards without taking a firelock from off their shoulders, when they gave one volley, charged instantly and drove the enemy; they then opened ranks and let the cavalry through, who did their duty in the most gallant and judicious manner possible." "There ought always to be one European battalion to four native ones,[3] this at least I think necessary. I have seen a great deal of these people lately, and am quite convinced that without king's troops very little is to be expected; in short, the infantry of this army, as well as cavalry,

[1] In December, 1802, the galloper-guns of the cavalry were first introduced, and afterwards six guns were brigaded under a subaltern in action.

[2] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 310.—12th September, 1803.

[3] The 76th foot was the only European regiment at Allyghur, Delhi, or at Laswaree.

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should be remodelled." Our loss was four hundred and seventy-eight of all ranks killed and wounded. There was great importance in this victory, as by it the Emperor Shah Allum, was restored to his throne. He had been in the hands of the Mahrattahs since 1771, ever since he left the protection of the English at Allahabad. Sindia governed all his actions, so that the Emperor was only nominally sovereign of Hindostan. The Emperor sent his son, Prince Mirza Akbar Shah, to introduce General Lake into his presence,[1] which took place on the 16th of September, 1803.

Having settled affairs at Delhi,[2] General Lake marched from Delhi towards Agra on the 24th September, 1803. Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, deputy adjutant-general of the Bengal army, was appointed Resident at Delhi, where a garrison was left of one battalion and four companies of a corps of Mewathies,[3] raised under the command of British officers who had been in Sindia's service; but which service, on the commencement of hostilities with that chieftain, they had quitted, to join the army under General Lake. A procla-

[1] Thorn, p. 124. [2] Thorn, p. 175.

[3] People from the country between Delhi and Laswaree.

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mation had about this time been published, calling upon all British officers to leave the service of Sindia, and the native powers at war with the British, offering a pension to them, and also a pension to foreign officers in the same service. It is believed that almost all came over. On the 2nd October, the army reached Muttra, where it found a detachment under Colonel Vandeleur. Here, Colonel Dudunaigue and Messrs. Smith and Lapenet, who had been detached with some regular battalions by Sindia, in the month of July, from the Deccan, to reinforce General Perron in Hindostan, surrendered themselves prisoners of war to Colonel Vandeleur. The army arrived at Agra on 8th October, and on the 9th October General Lake concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the raja of Bheutpoor, who was the first chief who solicited our protection.[1] The raja sent five thousand cavalry to co-operate with our army before Agra.

General Lake summoned the fort of Agra; no answer was returned. The garrison was so jealous of their European officers, that they placed them in confinement. Seven battalions of the enemy, with a number of guns, were encamped on the

[1] Thorn, p. 181.

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glacis, and occupied the town. The battalions were attacked, and twenty-six guns taken, and also the troops in the town, where we seized and held a mosque near the end of the town, towards the Tripolia, opposite the grand gateway. Our loss was two hundred and twenty-eight, killed and wounded. Two days after, the remainder of the enemy's battalions on the outside of the fort agreed to surrender; and on the 13th October, two thousand five hundred men marched into the British camp. The operations of the siege were commenced. Colonels Hessing and Sutherland had signed a paper, signed by fifteen native officers, or sirdars, which the latter officer brought to General Lake on the 12th, offering to surrender. Captain Salkeld[1] returned to the fort with Colonel Sutherland, when he found a difference of opinion among the chiefs. On the 17th October, our batteries opened on the fort. The enemy capitulated on the morning of the 18th. Thus we obtained possession of this celebrated fort with very little loss. The fort is not considered very strong, as the walls are very high; the ditch is deep and wide. It answers well for

[1] Deputy quarter-master-general, and guide, and intelligence department.

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the deposit of arms and military stores. The garrison, five thousand or six thousand men, marched out, and our troops occupied the fort. Twenty tumbrils of treasure, to the amount of twenty-two lakhs rupees (about £220,000) were found in the fort, with guns, ammunition, and stores in abundance. M. Perron claimed this treasure as personal property. The governor-general declined giving any answer till he received an explanation from General Lake. Colonel Hessing, the late governor, admitted that the treasure was public property. The prize property was divided before the governor-general's order was received. General Lake marched from Agra on the 27th October.[1] The governor-general's private letter, sent express at half-past seven, P.M. on the 29th October, 1803,[2] states, "I am particularly anxious to send you an order for the distribution of prizes; I hope to be able to furnish it to-morrow." An officer of the author's own regiment, who served with the army, received his share before the army left Agra.

Sindia[3] had sent fifteen battalions of sepoys, formed by General Perron from the Deccan,

[1] Thorn, p. 211. [2] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 420.
[3] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 210.

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under Monsieur Dudunaigue. He and some other officers and troops had surrendered at Muttra to Colonel Vandeleur. It was expected that this force, with that which was at Delhi, would have been sufficient to check the progress of the English, and to maintain possession of Delhi and Agra. The battle of Delhi had thwarted these views; and during the siege of Agra, the force sent by Sindia, though augmented by the two battalions which escaped from Delhi, made no attempt to prevent the fall of that important fortress, but took up a strong position in the rear of our army. The enemy's object was to wait for a favourable opportunity to re-take Delhi, as essential to the restoration of the Mahrattah power over the imperial dominions. General Lake's object was to destroy this force. Had the army taken the field in the middle of *October*, as is the most usual practice, instead of on the 29th of *August*, 1803, Allyghur would have had a stronger force to defend it, and the battle of Delhi would have been more obstinately contested, and Delhi might have been fortified. General Lake marched from Agra on the 27th of October, 1803. The army halted next day at Karowleyby owing to a tremendous storm of rain.

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On the 29th it marched to the N. W. of Futtypore Sikree; in the afternoon a heavy cannonade was heard, occasioned by the bombardment of Cutumbo, which was destroyed by the enemy. This indicated the vicinity of the enemy. The next day (30th) the army effected a forced march of twenty miles, leaving the heavy guns and baggage at Futtypore, with two battalions of sepoys. On the 31st October, the army encamped[1] near Cutumbo. General Lake now resolved to push on with the cavalry, with whom he might keep the enemy employed, and endeavour to seize their guns and baggage, till the infantry came up. They were ordered to march on the 1st November at three, A.M. The cavalry marched at eleven o'clock at night (31st of October); and after a march of twenty-five miles in little more than six hours, came up with the enemy at sunrise on the 1st of November. Their infantry consisted of the regular seventeen battalions before-mentioned (nine thousand men), and seventy-two guns, and from four thousand to five thousand cavalry. On General Lake's approach it "appeared that the enemy were upon the retreat, and that in such confusion as to induce

[1] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 212.

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the British general to make an instant attack upon them, without waiting for the infantry." A well-known general officer who was with the Bengal cavalry, states that, part of the enemy's guns were chained, and another portion had moved through a pass in a low range of hills (Mewattee.) General Lake charged the guns which were chained, and failed in keeping all of the four guns he had taken, and took up a position to await the arrival of the infantry. The enemy then brought back the guns which had gone through the pass.—Thus the seventy-two guns were brought together.

The Duke of Wellington, it is stated, said that an enemy's guns should be attacked when in motion; on the march. Had Lake known that the guns were chained, he would most probably not have charged them; but have taken up a position to hold the enemy in check till the infantry arrived. In the Peninsular War the British cavalry, under Lord Combermere, was often employed to watch the movements of the French army; the enemy opened a fire upon the cavalry, and Lord Combermere said he avoided suffering loss in killed and wounded, by moving backwards and forwards in open column of troops or squadrons, by which plan the enemy's shot pas-

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sed between the troops, and did little damage. At Laswaree the cavalry, according to Thorn, "Having penetrated through the enemy's line, they immediately formed again and charged backwards and forwards three times, with surprising order and effect, amidst the continued roar of cannon, and an incessant shower of grape and chain-shot," and, "though all the guns (immediately opposed to our troops,) were virtually taken and in our possession, yet for the want of draught bullocks and infantry to secure what we had so dearly earned, only two out of the number taken could be brought away."

The infantry came up about noon. At this period a message was sent by the enemy to the commander-in-chief, offering to surrender all their guns upon certain conditions; to which a favourable answer was returned. After the lapse of an hour, preparations having been made, and the guns not being delivered up, General Lake formed his infantry into two columns of attack. The enemy's infantry had originally (31st of October) been in one line. They had formed two lines, and disposed all the guns in double lines in front of the front line; the rear guns being in rear of the intervals of the front line of guns. The for-

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tified village of Mohaulpoor[1] was between the enemy's two lines of infantry. The front line in front, and the rear line in rear of the village. Our cavalry were employed, partly to support the infantry, and some to watch the enemy's cavalry in the rear, and in attacking the enemy's left flank. The galloper guns were placed in batteries to support the infantry. General Lake with the right column attacked the guns of the right wing of the enemy. Thorn says, "The effect of this fire, which was terrible in the extreme, was felt with peculiar severity by the 76th regiment, which fine body, by heading the attack, as usual, became the direct object of destruction. So great indeed was the loss of this corps, and such was the furious fire of the enemy, that the commander-in-chief deemed it more advisable to hasten the attack with that regiment, and those of the native infantry, consisting of the second battalion, twelfth and sixth companies of the second battalion sixteenth, which had closed to the front, than to wait till the remainder of

[1] The village of Laswaree was near the bank of a rivulet, which covered the right flanks of the enemy's lines of infantry.

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the column should be formed, whose advance had been much delayed by unavoidable impediments." The left wing was very little engaged. The guns were at last captured.

The loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred and twenty-four. Of these the cavalry lost two hundred and fifty-eight, his Majesty's 76th regiment, two hundred and thirteen; the 2nd battalion, 12th and the companies 16th Native Infantry,[1] lost one hundred and eighty-eight; leaving the remainder, sixty-five, to be divided among all the other corps—and five hundred and fifty-three horses killed, wounded and missing. The guns captured were seventy-one in number. Lake's secret letter better explains the nature of the battle than the official despatch to the Marquis Wellesley.[2] On the 2nd November, "These battalions (Sindia's) are most uncommonly well appointed, have a most numerous artillery, as well served as they can possibly be, the gunners standing to their guns until killed by the bayonet; all the sepoys

[1] The 16th were removed to the brigade in which his Majesty's 76th were, owing to gallant conduct in the attack on the town of Agra in October 1803.

[2] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 445. (The author's *italics*.)

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of the enemy behaved exceedingly well, and *if they had been commanded by French officers,*[1] *the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. I never was in so severe a business in my life, or anything like it, and pray to God I never may be in such a situation again.* Their army is better appointed than ours, no expense is spared whatever, they have three times the number of men to a gun as we have, their bullocks, of which they have many more than we have, are of a very superior sort; all their men's knapsacks and baggage are carried upon camels, by which means they can march double the distance. We have taken all their bazar, baggage, and everything belonging to them; an amazing number were killed—indeed the victory has been decisive. The action of yesterday has convinced me how impossible it is to do anything without British troops, and of them there ought to be a very great proportion." "Had we been beaten by these brigades, the consequences attending such a defeat must have been most fatal. *These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes,* and had we not made a disposition for attack in a style that we should have done against the most

[1] The proclamation brought them over.

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formidable army we could have been opposed to, I verily believe, from the position they had taken, *we must have failed.*" These seventeen battalions constituted the flower of Sindia's establishment,[1]—they were called the "*Deccan invincibles.*"

In the battle of Delhi there were nineteen thousand men, thirteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry, and sixty-eight guns. In the battle of Laswaree—nine thousand infantry and four thousand to five thousand cavalry, and seventy-one guns. The British were about four thousand five hundred men at Delhi. At Laswaree there were two regiments of dragoons, and three more of native cavalry, added to the army, which was about seven thousand men. At Delhi we lost four hundred and seventy-eight—at Laswaree, eight hundred and twenty-four men killed and wounded. If we look at the battle of Delhi, we find the British one to about four of the enemy. At Laswaree as seven to about fourteen. The loss against less numbers is nearly double. The position at Laswaree, and the attack by cavalry, and then by both on the same day, and the nature of the position account

[1] Thorn, p. 223.

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in some degree for the greater loss. Still there is no doubt that the Laswaree troops were better; it was a touch-and-go affair; Delhi never was. The troops in crossing the rivulet had swampy ground to pass over, inundated by the enemy cutting a *bund* in the hills.

The operations under the Honourable Major-General Wellesley. Battle of Assaye, 23rd Sept. 1803.—Thorn[1] states the British force to have been one thousand two hundred cavalry, European and native; one thousand three hundred infantry and artillery, with two thousand sepoys; in all about four thousand five hundred men. The Maharattah (Peshwah) and Mysore cavalry, with the general's force, were about three thousand men. The British found the enemy across the river Kaitna, and the Mahrattah and Mysore cavalry were posted beyond the river to keep the enemy's horse in check. Thorn gives the enemy's force at sixteen regular battalions of infantry (Pohlman's brigade) or six thousand men; that of Duponts at two thousand five hundred, and four battalions of the Begum sumroo, at two thousand more; the whole making ten thousand five hundred men, dis-

[1] Thorn, p. 274.

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ciplined troops, commanded by European officers, exclusive of artillery, the Raja of Berar's infantry, and the irregular infantry of Sindia. A well appointed artillery, exceeding one hundred guns, and several large bodies of horse, said to be thirty thousand or more. It was originally intended that Colonel Stevenson's division should have joined, but circumstances prevented the junction. They had met on the 21st and had concerted a joint attack, to be made on the twenty-fourth September.

General Wellesley considered his force equal to the task, so leaving some troops with his baggage at Naulniah (where he had intended to encamp), he marched to attack the enemy. They were originally drawn up in a peninsula, formed by the rivers Kaitna and Jooee, in a line facing the Kaitna, and about half a mile distant from it; the cavalry on the right in the neighbourhood of Bokerdun, reaching to their line of infantry, which, with the guns, was posted near the fortified village of Assaye. Their cavalry were on the right, and the infantry and guns were on the left. The village of Assaye was in rear of the enemy's left, and the distance between the rivers was about a mile and a-quarter. The

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enemy, expecting their left flank to be turned, formed their right wing of infantry, with its right resting on the Kaitna, and the left on the village of Assaye; their left wing being formed to the rear, at a right angle with the left of the front line, *en potence*, and with their rear to the Joocc, the left flank resting on Assaye; there being nine battalions in the front, and seven in the second line. About a mile and a-half in front of the enemy's new line, was the junction of the two rivers, so that when General Wellesley formed his army in front of the enemy's front line, the battle field was in the form of a triangle, the enemy forming the base of it. General Wellesley occupied the centre of the space, by which means his flanks and rear were covered, the junction of the rivers being in rear of his centre. The enemy had more than half their guns in the front line, the rest in the other line, (*en potence.*) The General drew up his infantry in two lines, and the cavalry in his rear.

General Wellesley wrote on the 24th Sept. to the Governor-general,[1] that he had heard on the 23rd, that the enemy's cavalry had moved off that morning, and that their infantry and

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 323.

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guns were about to follow. He had marched on the 22nd by the eastern route round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna. Colonel Stevenson by the western route. General Wellesley conceiving that by waiting for Colonel Stevenson the enemy might escape, resolved to attack them. The enemy might get their guns down the Ghaut Pass, and escape. Mr. H. H. Wilson,[1] says that Ameer Khan relates that when Sindia and the Berar Raja heard that the peishwa had come to terms with the English, they sent a confidential messenger to Holkar. "Holkar consulted Ameer Khan on the subject, by whose advice certain conditions were proposed to the allied chiefs, to which they acceded; and in consequence, Ameer Khan, with a select body of Holkar's troops, *was on his march to join the confederates, when the news of the battle of Assaye arrested his progress, and he returned to Holkar.* This demonstration of which there can be no doubt, as it is related by Ameer Khan himself, does not seem to have been known to the English

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 509. (The author's *italics.*) "Memoir of Ameer Khan, from his own Dictation; translated from the Persian by H. T. Prinsep, Esq. Calcutta, 1832." (The author's *italics.*)

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authorities." It is not stated where Ameer Khan's force was when he heard of the battle, but it is probable the enemy knew of the chance of being joined by the Ameer. Colonel, (now Lieutenant-General) Welsh, in his Military Reminiscences[1] writes, "Some of the prisoners said it was generally understood, that when Colonel Stevenson and our force had united, we intended to offer them battle; but that when they first discovered only one body advancing, they thought them actually mad, as it was their own intention to have attacked our little camp the same day." Alison says,[2] in allusion to Generals Wellesley and Stevenson's divisions, "In moving forwards thus parallel to each other, the two corps were not more than twelve miles asunder, but the intervening hills rendered any mutual support impossible." Colonel Stevenson had been written to, and did not arrive till the next morning at Bokerdun, with part of his force, eight miles from the field of action. General Wellesley states the separation of the two corps to have been necessary, as both could not pass through the same defiles in one day; and

[1] "Of Thirty Years," vol. i. p. 174.

[2] "Modern History of Europe," vol. vii. p. 164.

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that if one of the roads through the hills were left open, the enemy might have passed to the southward, while we were going to the northward. General Wellesley considered that if he marched back to Naulniah, (five or six miles from the enemy's position) he would be attacked on his march; and the enemy were very powerful in cavalry.

General Wellesley after a cannonade for some time advanced and carried the enemy's guns in their front line,[1] when, forming afresh, they proceeded to attack a second line, where the rest of the enemy's infantry and cavalry with half of their artillery were posted, and well drawn up with the river Jooce in their rear. "At this moment a body of the enemy's cavalry charged in our rear, and with their own gunners and other rallied fugitives, took possession not only of their own guns which we had captured, but also of those of the British; killing our artillerymen, and turning the guns on our line.[2] They were enabled thus to succeed at this moment, because our cavalry had

[1] "Colonel Welsh's Reminiscences," vol. i. p 171." The colonel's corps had left the general's camp on the 11th of September, and was not far off.

[2] The men of the enemy's captured guns lay down as if dead; but, now, got up.

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just then charged a large body of the enemy in front, who had, with the assistance of a very heavy and destructive fire from their guns, not only galled, but nearly annihilated the gallant 74th, and picquets on our extreme right. This last line, although it stood well, was at length broken, and the guns captured; while our cavalry pursuing the fugitives, fell in with an immense column, who, though retreating, opposed them, and killed Colonel Maxwell, the brigadier; nor were they completely routed without a severe struggle, and heavy loss on our side. The second line being put *hors de combat*, the general, who was everywhere, placed himself at the head of the 78th regiment, faced about and charged the enemy, who were in possession of the first line of guns, and routed them with great slaughter. Here ended the conflict; those who had captured our guns making off as soon as they saw their danger; though about half-past five a body of ten thousand cavalry came in sight, and made some demonstrations, but dared not charge; and at eight o'clock in the evening they entirely disappeared."

Writing to Major Malcolm[1] on the 28th of

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 354.

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September, 1803, General Wellesley says, "Their infantry is the best I have ever seen in India, excepting our own, and they and their equipments far surpass Tippoo's. I assure you that their fire was so heavy, that I much doubted at one time, whether I should be able to prevail upon our troops to advance; and all agree that the battle was the fiercest that has ever been seen in India. Our troops behaved admirably: the sepoys astonished me. These circumstances and the vast loss which I sustained, make it clear that we ought not to attack them again, unless we have something nearer in equality of numbers." Colonel Welsh[1] says, "a number of orderly books, kept by the European officers, were taken among the spoils, by which it appeared, that they had ten thousand eight hundred regular infantry, and thirty thousand cavalry in the action." This gives a force of forty thousand eight hundred men; "Whilst our small body consisted of two European regiments—the 74th and 78th (nine hundred men) and four native battalions,—the first of the 4th; first of the 8th; first of the 10th; and second of the 12th; amounting to two thousand four hundred infantry; the

[1] "Welsh's Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 174.

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19th dragoons, three hundred,[1] and the 4th, 5th, and 7th native cavalry, three hundred each, making twelve hundred, being a total of four thousand five hundred. There were originally two thousand four hundred Mysore cavalry, and about three thousand Mahrattah horse but both, probably, three thousand five hundred present, making a total of eight thousand men in the action.[2] But these three thousand five hundred horse were posted beyond the river Kaitna, and were not employed during the action, except to watch the enemy's horse. The number of guns taken was[3] one hundred and twenty, several of them left at different places during the flight of the enemy."

General Wellesley had six hundred and twenty-six killed and fifteen hundred and eighty officers and men wounded; total two thousand two hundred and six men, and three hundred and twenty-five horses. He gives the enemy's loss[4] at twelve hundred killed on the field of battle, and "I sup-

[1] Duff, vol. iii. p. 241, says, "three hundred and sixty swords." He makes the enemy's force fifty thousand men.

[2] "Alison's Modern Empire," vol. vii. p. 164, gives eight thousand men.

[3] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 356.

[4] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 372.

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pose about four times that number wounded." He imputed his own great loss to a mistake committed by the picquets. "The enemy's cannonade was terrible,[1] but the result shows what a small number of British troops can do. The best of it is, that if it had not been for a mistake of the picquets, by which the 74th were led into a scrape, we should have gained the victory with half the loss; and I should not have introduced the cavalry into the action at all, till all the infantry had been broken; and the cavalry would not have been exposed to the cannonade, but would have been fresh for a pursuit. In this manner also we should have destroyed many more of the enemy than we did."

This victory, besides destroying Sindia's artillery, and the best part of his army, enabled Colonel Stevenson to take Boorhanpoor and Asseerghur, on the 16th and 21st of October, 1803, in less than a month after the battle, while General Wellesley's force was free to act in any other direction.

The battle of Argaum, 28th November, 1803. The British troops under General Wellesley,[2]

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 412.

[2] Thorn, p. 300.

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came up with a large body of Sindia's and the Berar cavalry, accompanied by the greater part of Ragojee Bhooslah's regular infantry, and a large portion of artillery, and as Sindia had not fulfilled the conditions of the truce which he had himself sought, the general resolved, notwithstanding the remonstrances and protestations of the ambassador still in his camp, to attack the enemy with all possible vigour. He immediately, therefore, moved forward to Parterly, where he was joined by Colonel Stevenson. The troops had marched a great distance.

General Wellesley[1] perceived a long line of the enemy's infantry, cavalry and artillery, regularly drawn up on the plains of Argaum, immediately in front of that village, and about six miles from Parterly, where he intended to encamp. He marched on in one column, the British cavalry leading, covering the rear and left by the Moghul and Mysore cavalry. The enemy's infantry and guns were in the left of their centre, with a body of cavalry on the left. Sindia's army, consisting of one very heavy body of cavalry, was on the right, having upon its right a body of Pindarries

[1] Despatches, vol. i. p. 529. Letter, 30th November, 1803, to the governor-general.

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and other light troops. Their line extended above five miles, having in their rear the village and extensive gardens and enclosures of Argaum, and in their front a plain much cut by water courses. He writes, "I formed the army in two lines; the infantry in the first, the cavalry in the second and supporting the right, and the Moghul and Mysore cavalry the left, nearly parallel to that of the enemy; with the right rather advanced in order to press upon the enemy's left." Some confusion took place in forming the troops. "When formed, the whole advanced in the greatest order; the 74th and 78th regiments were attacked by a large body, (supposed to be Persians,) and all these were destroyed. Sindia's cavalry charged the first battalion 6th regiment, which was on the left of our line, and were repulsed; and their whole line retired in disorder before our troops, leaving in our hands thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition. The British cavalry then pursued them for several miles, destroyed great numbers, and took many elephants and camels, and much baggage. The Moghul and Mysore cavalry also pursued the fugitives, and did them great mischief. Unfortunately sufficient daylight did not remain to do all that I could have

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wished; but the cavalry continued their pursuit by moonlight, and all the troops were under arms till a late hour in the night." The British loss was three hundred and forty-six officers and men, killed and wounded, and forty-four horses.

In a letter to Major Shaw, military secretary to the Governor-General,[1] General Wellesley writes—"If we had had daylight an hour more not a man would have escaped. We should have had that time if my native infantry had not been panic-struck and got into confusion when the cannonade commenced. What do you think of nearly three entire battalions, who behaved so admirably in the battle of Assaye, being broke, and running off when the cannonade commenced at Argaum, which was not to be compared to that at Assaye? Luckily, I happened to be at no great distance from them, and I was able to rally them and re-establish the battle. If I had not been there I am convinced we should have lost the day. But as it was, so much time elapsed before I could form them again, that we had not daylight enough for everything that we should certainly have performed. The troops

[1] Despatches, vol. i. p. 533. 2nd December, 1803.

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were under arms, and I was on horseback, from six in the morning until twelve at night."

The fort of Gawilghur, belonging to the Raja of Berar,[1] was taken on the 14th of December, 1803, which led to a peace with the Berar Raja on the 17th of December, 1803, called the treaty of Deogaum ;[2] and on the 30th of December, 1803, a treaty of peace, called the the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum, was signed with Sindia.

The Gwalior affair and Sindia. Thorn[3] states that "Ambajee, in the month of October (1803), made an offer to renounce his dependence upon Sindia, and to become tributary to the English on certain conditions." A treaty was concluded with that chief on the 16th of December, 1803, by which "all the lands in the possession of Ambajee, situate to the north of Gwalior, and including that fortress, were ceded to the British Government, which, on its side, secured to him the independent sovereignty of the remaining territory that had been under his dominion," except the hereditary estates of the Rana of Gohud,

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 583.
[2] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 588.
[3] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 245.

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" who had obtained a guarantee of the same for himself and family in a treaty of a prior date." The British Government, on the principles of good faith and sound policy, could not comply with this demand of Ambajee:" he received the pledge of an ample indemnification for the loss in some other part of Bundelcund." The Commander-in-Chief detached Lieut.-Colonel White, on the 21st of December, 1803, to take possession of Gwalior. There was treachery on the part of Ambajee, and the Commandant would not deliver up the fortress. A battering train was sent, and the place was surrendered on the 5th of February, 1804. After the dismemberment of the Moghul empire, Gwalior[1] came into the possession of the Rana of Gohud, from whom it was taken by the Mahrattahs. In 1780 the English took it from the Mahrattahs, and gave it up to the Rana of Gohud. Mahadajee Sindhia, after a siege of many months, obtained possession of the fortress by bribing the garrison. A treaty was made between us and Sindia (Dowlut Rao, the nephew) on the 30th December, 1803. Sindia demanded the fortress. General Welles-

[1] "Hamilton's Gazetteer, and authorities."

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ley writes,[1] on 17th March, 1804, to Major Malcolm, "Till I received the Governor-general's despatch regarding the peace, I thought that the state of the Rana of Gohud *existed*, but that despatch for the first time informed me that it was a state to be *restored*, and not one to be supported in independence, for which I was to provide." He then says, "Ambajee held the fort as a servant of Sindia. The fort was Sindia's, and Ambajee his amildar." On the 22nd May, 1804, General Wellesley wrote a third time to Major Malcolm,[2] "I am convinced I should not have made the peace, if I had insisted upon Gwalior."

When Lord Lake had followed[3] Holkar, in 1805, into the Punjab, the gooroo mata (national council) held at Amrutsir agreed to withhold all aid from Holkar. Sindia's vakeel accompanied Lake's army, and a treaty of alliance (generally confirming the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum, except the refusal to acknowledge the *right* of Sindia to any claims upon Gwalior and Gohud, under the preceding treaty) was made, by which

[1] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 167. (The author's *italics*.)
[2] Despatches, vol. iii. p 298.
[3] Thorn, p. 491. (The author's *italics*.)

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it was agreed to cede to him the former (Gwalior) from *friendly considerations*. The ratification reached camp on the 25th December, 1805, at Amrutsir. The Marquis Wellesley took an erroneous view of the Gwalior case, and General Wellesley proved his judgment to be correct. The acting Governor-general was now Sir George Barlow: Marquis Cornwallis had died on the 5th October, 1805.

Review of the war.[1] General Wellesley on the 12th August, 1803, took Ahmednaggur. On the 29th August General Lake defeated Perron's troop at Coel; on the same day Baroach in Guzerat, was taken by storm. Lake took the fort of Allyghur on the 4th September, on the 11th gained the battle of Delhi. On the 23rd Sept. Wellesley gained the battle of Assaye. On the 18th October, Lake took possession of the fortress of Agra. On the 1st November he gained the battle of Laswaree. On the 28th November, Wellesley gained the battle of Argaum. In October, Colonel Stevenson had taken Boorhanpoor and Asseerghur. Colonel Woodington had reduced Champaneer and Powanghur. Colonel Harcourt had been successful in

[1] Thorn, p. 312.

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Cuttack; and Colonel Powell had attained advantages in Bundelcund. Both Sindia and the Berar Raja,[1] had pledged themselves to "retain no Frenchmen," in their service, or "the subjects of powers in a state of hostility to Great Britain; nor any of our own, without permission." The Marquis Wellesley had by his proclamation of August, 1803, brought over most of the foreign officers, as well as all our own. In the four great battles we had taken above three hundred guns, and in the fortresses a great many guns, and great quantities of military stores.

Holkar in 1804. Holkar had sent troops under Ameer Khan to join the confederates, as before stated, at the battle of Assaye. Mr. H. H. Wilson says,[2] "Again, after the battle of Laswaree, whilst yet Holkar was looked upon as neutral, he wrote to Ameer Khan, with many adjurations that he had made up his mind to enter the field against General Lake, and he therefore commanded the Ameer to join him as soon as possible." Thorn says,[3] Holkar wrote

[1] Thorn, p. 317.

[2] Mill, vol. vi. p. 569.—*Note* 1. Memoirs of Ameer Khan.

[3] Thorn, p. 325.

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some letters to General Lake in a friendly style. On the 25th October, 1802, with twenty-eight battalions, (fourteen commanded by European officers) twenty-five thousand cavalry, and one hundred guns, Holkar had defeated Sindia at Poona. This chief, had he joined the confederates, might have turned the scale against us. Holkar had lately ravaged Kota, and next threatened Jypoor. Lake moved after him on the 27th December, 1803. In February, 1804, he carried on a treacherous correspondence with two Rohilla chiefs, and several Sikhs. Holkar proposed to these chiefs to send ten thousand horse, to be joined by six thousand of their horse. In March, 1804,[1] Holkar sent two vakeels with letters, demanding some districts in the Dooab, and in Bundelcund, and to collect the chout (or one fourth) of the landed revenue, according to the custom of his ancestors.

Meerbhan,[2] then in Holkar's service, came with a large body of horse to the frontiers of Bundelcund. Troops were detached against him. Meerbhan fell back to Seronge (in Malwa.) Holkar had, in February, 1804, written to

[1] Thorn, p. 332.
[2] Thorn, p. 335.

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General Wellesley[1] demanding cessions in the Deccan. Holkar next sent an agent to Sindia for "his assistance in an immediate attack upon the British possessions," and commenced plundering the territories of the Raja of Jypoor. General Lake marched against Holkar. General Wellesley sent orders to Colonel Murray, commanding in Guzerat, to enter the province of Malwa, and attack Holkar at Indoor, and part of the Colonel's troops were to act in his country in the Deccan. General Lake detached two battalions of sepoys under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Monson, on the 18th April, for Jypoor, about one hundred and forty miles west of Agra. Lieutenant-Colonel Don took Tonk Rampoora (sixty miles from Jypoor) on the 15th May, 1804. Holkar had lost his possessions in Hindostan north of the Chumbal. He was pressed by Colonel Monson's detachment, with the Jypoor troops on one side, while on the south Colonel Murray moved against him.

General Lake in May, broke up his army, and

[1] Despatches, vol. ii. p. 94, 16th July, 1803. General Wellesley wrote to Holkar before the war, and sent the letter by Kawder Nawaz Khan (A. D. C.), in his confidence. This was regarding the treaty of Bassein.

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on 4th June, 1804, reached Agra, and Cawnpoor on the 20th June,[1] at the commencement of the rainy season. Thus Colonel Monson was left with his detachment in the province of Ajmeer, in a difficult country during the rainy season. He found that Colonel Murray did not advance to his support, but he (Colonel Monson) having learnt of Holkar's advance, on the 8th July, 1804, sent off his baggage, and followed with his infantry. He retired to the Mockundra Pass, leaving Lieutenant Lucan and Bapoojee Sindia, as a rear guard (three thousand horse) to follow. On the march he heard of the attack on his rear guard. He arrived at the Mockundra pass, where he took up a position. General Wellesley says,[2] "When he began to retreat, he ought not to have stopped longer than one night at Mockundra; because he must have been certain that the same circumstances which obliged him to retire to Mockundra, would also oblige him to quit that position." "The same reasoning holds good respecting Monson's halt at Rampoora, unless he intended

[1] Thorn, pp. 349, 353.

[2] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 461.

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to fight. As he had been reinforced,[1] he ought, to have fallen back till he was certain of his supplies; and having waited till Holkar approached him, particularly as Holkar's army was not then in great strength in infantry and guns, he ought to have vigorously attacked him before he retired." "In respect to the operations of a corps in the situation of Monson's, they must be decided and quick." Colonel Monson had five battalions and guns.

He reached the Bannas river on the 22nd of August; next morning the enemy's cavalry made their appearance. On the 24th their guns arrived, or forty-eight days after Colonel Monson heard of Holkar's advance towards Mockundra. Colonel Monson, when the Bannas was fordable, (24th) sent all his troops across the river, and kept only his picquets on the side where the enemy were with their infantry and guns.[2] General Wellesley writes on the 12th September, 1804,[3] "When his picquets were attacked on the Bannas, he ought to have supported them with his whole corps, leaving one battalion on

[1] Two battalions and their guns, and some Hindostanee horse at Rampoora.

[2] Many of Holkar's horse crossed over after our troops.

[3] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 462.

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the northern bank to take care of his baggage; and if he had done so, he probably would have gained a victory, would have saved his baggage, and regained his honour."

The rains commenced on the 10th of July. Had Colonel Monson not been so far in advance of the Mockundra pass (fifty miles) and had he fallen back rapidly, he would have reached the Bannas river several days before Holkar's infantry and guns arrived at that river. Bapoojee Sindia was a traitor; hence he sacrificed Lieutenant Lucan and the rear guard, which was destroyed by Holkar's cavalry. Monson had five battalions and fifteen guns, before he obtained his reinforcements, and might very easily have been joined by those reinforcements after he had crossed the river. Then there would have been a respectable force to meet Holkar in the field. It is said that Colonel Monson had not confidence in the sepoys. He had served at Seringapatam,[1] in 1791-92. General Wellesley well explains Colonel Monson's errors. The sepoys were confident, but wanted a leader. Lord Lake it is conceived committed an error in going into cantonments so far distant as Cawnpoor.[2] There

[1] Fifty-second foot.

[2] About one hundred and eighty miles.

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was no apparent support for Monson. Lord Lake should have had a strong force at Agra, from which station the reinforcements were afterwards sent, and which station was near the frontier to which Monson was retreating.

Mr. H. H. Wilson says,[1] Colonel Monson reached Rampoora on the 27th of July, and did not move again till the 22nd August.[2] "This delay," Lord Lake observes, in his despatches to Lord Wellesley, "was fatal." Now Monson reached the Bannas on the 22nd of August, as Lord Lake says, "So swelled in consequence of the late rains as to be impassable. This occasioned a halt until the river might subside, during which the whole force of the enemy had assembled in the neighbourhood of the detachment. The river having become fordable, the detachment was ordered to cross it on the 24th of August." Lake continues, "When I was informed that the detachment, joined by the reinforcement,[3] was at Rampoora, I transmitted in-

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 584. (*Note.*)

[2] Lord Lake says in his letter (1st July, 1805) to Marquis Wellesley, (Despatches, vol. v. p. 291,) "on the 21st of August."

[3] On the 14th of August.—Memoir of Colonel Don. E. I. Military Calendar, vol. ii. p. 548.

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structions to Colonel Monson to make a stand at that place, if such measure appeared to him practicable." Wilson well observes, that Lake could not have heard of the junction of the reinforcements in less than a week after the event. In fact, Monson waited twenty-five days at Rampoora, consuming his supplies. He had spiked, and left behind, his guns on the 15th of July.[1] He had been joined by two battalions of sepoys, a body of irregular horse, four six-pounders, two howitzers, and a supply of grain, sent from Agra. He left the four six-pounders at Rampoora. He could not expect with his force, and two guns, to gain a victory over Holkar. He must have known that Holkar would advance. General Wellesley[2] says, "The difference between a good and a bad military position is nothing, when the troops are starving." There was no use in staying at Rampoora, unless he could contend against Holkar. Lord Lake had long before written to Monson to suspend his retreat. Wilson says, "Lord Lake, therefore, seems to have been the cause of Colonel Monson's protracted stay at Rampoora."

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 579.

[2] Despatches, vol. iii. p. 461.

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Lord Lake[1] excuses himself to the marquis for not leaving more troops at Agra, by writing, "No cantonments for European troops had been constructed on the banks of the Jumna, and I therefore proceeded to Cawnpoor with my European force.[2] An order for temporary barracks might have been issued before the army broke up in May. Wilson truly says, "Had not Monson's detachment been exposed to destruction, Holkar must have been exterminated in the early part of the ensuing campaign, or in the end of 1804, and an immense saving of treasure and life would have been effected, whilst all the political advantages expected from the war, and which, in impatience of its protracted continuance, were thrown away by Lord Wellesley's successors, would, in all probability, have been secured."

Lord Lake marched from Cawnpoor on the 3rd, and arrived at Agra[3] on the 22nd of September. He marched from Secundra, near Agra, on the 1st of October, towards Muttra. There

[1] Wellesley's Despatches, vol. v. p. 286.

[2] His Majesty's 8th, 27th, and 29th Light Dragoons; two companies 22nd Foot, the whole of the 76th, and two companies Honourable Company's European regiment.

[3] Mill, vol. vi. p. 585.

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were four battalions of sepoys, and two regiments of native cavalry, with guns. They left Muttra on the 15th of October, and marched to Agra, leaving behind much grain and baggage, of which, and of the town, Holkar's horse took possession.[1] As Lord Lake advanced to, Holkar retired from, Muttra, and planned an important stratagem. Leaving his cavalry to engage the attention of the commander-in-chief, he secretly dispatched his infantry and guns to Delhi; and early on the morning of the 7th, Holkar's horse appeared before the walls of Delhi. Colonel D. Ochterlony,[2] the resident, reported to Lord Lake that, upon hearing of Monson's retreat and Holkar's advance, he at once widened the ramparts of Delhi for the use of guns, and made other preparations. He called in Lieut.-Colonel W. Burn, with the 2nd battalion of the 14th native infantry from Seharunpoor, an irregular corps of sepoys from Rotuk, and another of Nujeebs from Panniput, and some other irregulars, making in all about twelve hundred matchlock men, besides the 14th

[1] Thorn, p. 370.

[2] East India Affairs, vol. 1806 (years 1803 to 1806); and Thorn, p. 373.

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native infantry, and four companies of the 2nd battalion 17th native infantry, altogether about two thousand two hundred men. On the arrival of Holkar's infantry and guns, the resident made over the command of the garrison to Lieutenant-Colonel W. Burn, the senior officer. There was a strong hostile feeling among the Mahommedan population of Delhi, and Colonel Ochterlony's time was fully occupied in preserving order in the city; there were enemies inside as well as outside the royal city.

On the morning of the 8th October, Holkar's infantry and artillery arrived. The main body encamped at some distance. A strong detachment took up a position, and with many guns opened a heavy cannonade on the south-east bastion; thirty or forty feet of the parapet had been levelled during the cannonade. During the night, the enemy erected batteries at breaching distance, which totally destroyed the parapet. On the evening of the 10th, a sally by Lieutenant Rose,[1] with two hundred men of the 14th native infantry, one hundred and fifty irregulars, with a reserve of fifty men and a six-pounder. They succeeded in getting possesion of the enemy's bat-

[1] Lieutenant-General Sir J. Rose, K.C.B. Bengal army.

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tery, and spiking their guns. On the morning of the 11th, the enemy again opened their battery upon the walls, but by a well-directed fire from a battery within the walls, near the point attacked, the enemy's guns were silenced. The enemy withdrew during the day and night, to carry on operations against the southern face of the city. A breach was soon made in the curtain, between the Turkoman and Ajmeer gates. On the 13th, there were indications of a serious attack. At daybreak, on the 14th, the enemy's guns opened in every direction; and under cover of this cannonade, a large body of infantry, preceded by ladders, made an assault upon the Lahore gate, but were driven back, leaving the ladders behind, which our sepoys drew up over the walls. The enemy next drew attention from the real object of attack, by making a demonstration against the Ajmeer gate. In the evening, they drew some guns towards the Cashmeer gate. The garrison brought guns to bear, to defeat these feigned attacks. However, before the morning of the 15th of October, their whole force had moved off, and at daybreak their rearguard of cavalry was seen at a distance. It was found that the enemy had prepared three mines,

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laid for the bastions between the Turkoman and Ajmeer gates, one of which was actually carried under the very spot where it was intended to explode, and ready to be loaded. Nothing could exceed the fatigue of the officers and men, in the defence of a city ten miles in circumference, for nine days, especially when the decayed state of the walls are considered. As Thorn observes, "The place, in its most prosperous days, had always been given up on the first appearance of an enemy before its gates." The men could not be often relieved, and the resident, therefore, caused provisions and sweetmeats[1] to be served out at the expense of the government.

Had a retreat from the town been necessary, Colonel Burn had directed that the troops should move into the citadel (palace), which was to be considered as the place of rendezvous, or rallying point. Information had been sent to Lord Lake. It was the advance of his army which caused the sudden departure of Holkar's infantry and guns. Lord Lake bestowed well-deserved praise on the resident, and on Colonel Burn and other officers for their conduct on this arduous service. It

[1] Made of sugar and flour, &c., of which the natives are very fond.

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has been erroneously said, that the resident was of opinion that the city could not be defended, but that Colonel Burn thought otherwise. Colonel Ochterlony, who had been deputy adjutant general of the army, had made preparations in August, before Colonel Burn had left Seharunpoor. His report to Lord Lake contradicts such a statement; and Colonel Burn, in his orders, gives the chief credit where it is justly due, to Colonel Ochterlony. Wilson[1] states Holkar's force to have been twenty thousand, and above one hundred guns. Colonel Wallace had taken the forts of Chandore and Galna, and we became possessed of Holkar's territories in the Deccan. Those in Malwa had been obtained by the detachment under Colonel Murray. Holkar was now plundering in all directions. He had now gone to Futtyghur.

Lord Lake,[2] hearing of Holkar being at Futtyghur on the 16th of November, 1804, made a night march with the cavalry. He had just heard of the victory over Holkar's brigades, at the battle of Deeg. Just at break of day, on the 17th of November, Lord Lake reached the

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 588.
[2] Thorn, p. 389.

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outskirts of Holkar's camp. Several rounds of grape from the horse artillery guns, fired into the camp, awakened the men who were lying down beside their horses at their picquets. Holkar, who had heard of his misfortune at Deeg, was the first to fly. The explosion of one of our horse artillery tumbrils gave the alarm to the chiefs, but Holkar for some time would not believe the report of Lord Lake's arrival; when he was convinced of the reality, he took the road to Mynpooree, never stopping till he had recrossed the Kalcenuddee, eighteen miles distant from Futtyghur. Lord Lake made a forced march of fifty-eight miles, and pursued the enemy for ten miles.

A few days after Lord Lake left Delhi with the cavalry in pursuit of Holkar's horse,[1] the British infantry and artillery, under Major-General Fraser, marched from hence in search of his brigades of infantry and guns, which were known to be within the territory of the Bhurtpoor Raja. On the 12th November, General Fraser pitched his camp within a short distance of the enemy, who were discovered encamped between a large deep tank and an extensive morass; their right covered by a fortified village, and their left ex-

[1] Thorn, p. 394.

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tending to the fort of Deeg. Preparations were made for the attack next morning. General Fraser's force consisted of his Majesty's 76th foot, the Company's European regiment, 2nd regiment of native cavalry, and six battalions of sepoys; two of which were left for the protection of the baggage, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, with the irregular horse. The remaining six regiments marched to the attack at three A.M., on the 13th November. They made a considerable detour to avoid the morass. They arrived about day-break at the fortified village on the hill which covered the enemy's right. The troops were formed in two lines; his Majesty's 76th regiment with charged bayonets took possession of the village, and running down the hill took the first range of guns; the enemy retiring to other batteries. Our troops were opposed to a most destructive fire from the enemy's second range of guns. A cannon-shot took off Major-General Fraser's leg, when the Honourable Colonel Monson assumed the command. The troops drove the enemy from the second range of guns, and charged battery after battery, till coming close under the walls of the town, they were fired upon from the fort, and had several men killed.

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In the meantime, a body of the enemy's horse came round, retook the first range of guns, and turned them against our troops; but a party of His Majesty's 76th drove them off. Colonel Monson having ordered up some guns, moved round under cover of their fire upon the enemy's left flank, who made a precipitate retreat into the morass, where numbers perished. Colonel Ball, with the reserved brigade which had been left with the baggage, now arrived to secure the captured guns. The 2nd and 3rd regiments of cavalry were employed during the action in keeping off the enemy's horse.

Thorn gives the enemy's force at twenty-four battalions,[1] a considerable body of horse, and one hundred and sixty guns, "according to the most accurate accounts." The British loss[2] was three hundred and fifty killed and wounded. It is supposed that near two thousand of the enemy were killed and drowned in endeavouring to effect their escape. We had five officers killed and seventeen wounded; we took eighty-seven

[1] Sometimes five hundred, six hundred, and seven hundred men each.

[2] Wellesley's Despatches, vol. iv. p. 233; and Appendix 661.

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guns.[1] The remains of Holkar's army took shelter in the fort of Deeg. A treaty had been formed with the raja of Bhurtpoor in October, 1803, by Lord Lake, when the army was engaged at the siege of Agra. Deeg belonged to the raja, as well as the fort of Bhurtpoor. The raja was to be punished for protecting our enemy.

Lord Lake moved towards Deeg on the 1st of December, 1804.[2] Having been joined by the reserve under Colonel Don, with the battering train, &c., from Agra, the army marched on the 11th of December in two columns, parallel to each other, covered a-head by the reserve forming the advance guard, while the intermediate space, a distance of about six hundred yards between the two columns, was occupied by the artillery, baggage and provision train; the whole being closed by the union of all the picquets, strengthened by a regiment of cavalry, thus forming a powerful rear guard. This compact mode of marching and encamping in the form of an oblong square, protected on all sides, rendered every attempt of the enemy's horse on the march or in camp ineffectual; and protected the nume-

[1] Doubtful as to their having one hundred and sixty guns.
[2] Thorn, p. 406.

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rous camp-followers; "of these non-combatants, there were not less than sixty thousand."[1] The plain chosen for our camp being occupied by the enemy, they were dislodged, which was easily effected, and preparations made for the siege. Colonel Don with the reserve, took possession of a tope that night, selected for carrying on our approaches. By next morning a mortar battery was erected, and by the evening of the same day a breaching battery was commenced by volunteer parties from the regiments of dragoons, within seven hundred and fifty yards of the Shah Bourj (or king's redoubt). The breaching battery was ready on the night of the 16th of December, and on the 17th in the morning opened from six eighteen-pounders, four twelve-pounders, and four mortars. This cannonade lasted several days; it proved very ineffectual, and another battery of three eighteen pounders was erected during the night of the 20th, to the left of our army, and nearer to the enemy's works, on which it kept up a smart enfilading fire. The besieged brought a number of guns on the plain outside the fort,

[1] Lake's army was not above seven thousand men;—above eight followers to each fighting man! A very doubtful statement.

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and placed them so judiciously under cover of natural enbankments, that the same could not be touched by our batteries, while the latter was for the most part enfiladed by theirs; to divert which, we had several twelve and six-pounders on the plain playing on them from different points.[1]

At length a practicable breach having been made, and the enemy's guns being mostly silenced, the storming party moved down to the trenches about half-past eleven o'clock on the night of the 23rd of December. There were three columns of attack, the right under Captain Kelly, of four companies of honourable Company's European regiment, and five companies of the first battalion 12th native infantry was ordered to carry the enemy's batteries and trenches, on the high ground near the Shah Bourj; whilst the left column, under Major Radcliffe, of the four remaining battalion companies of the Company's European regiment, and five of the first battalion 12th native infantry, was destined to carry the trenches and batteries on the enemy's right. The centre column led by Lieutenant-colonel Macrae, who had the command of the whole, consisting of the flank companies of

[1] From 1781 till February 1849 (battle of Goojerat in the Punjab), we have mostly been deficient in artillery.

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his Majesty's 22nd, 76th, and those of the Company's European regiment, and of the first battalion of 8th native infantry, composed the storming party for the breach. The whole moved off so as to reach the different points of attack a little before twelve at night,[1] when each column performed its allotted part with equal gallantry and success. The storming party were exposed on their flanks to a most galling fire of cannon and musketry from the enemy's batteries and trenches; and though obliged to pass over broken and very unfavourable ground, rushed on to the breach, and gained possession of the works with resistless spirit; while the two remaining columns diverging outwards, attacked the enemy under the walls, carrying all their batteries at the point of the bayonet, in the face of a most destructive fire from all directions. The enemy's gunners stood firmly to their guns, and defended themselves to the last; making use of their tulwas (swords) with such desperate resolution, when they could no longer fire, that most of them were bayonetted. Several parties of the enemy rallied, and, favoured by the darkness of the night, tried to recover

[1] Night attacks are often dangerous, especially if there be no moon. The moon arose at half-past twelve.

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their guns; but the moon rising at half-past twelve, shed a very seasonable light on the scene, and enabled our gallant fellows to secure the guns they had so hardly gained. By two o'clock in the morning of the 24th December, the British were in possession of the Shah Bourj and outworks, with all the guns placed outside, which were twenty-eight in number.[1]

The enemy lost a number of men killed and wounded. Their extensive intrenchments were occupied with a large force, consisting of several battalions of the Raja of Bhurtpoor, and the remaining infantry of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. Our troops now prepared to assault the citadel. During the night of the 24th December the enemy evacuated the citadel. Thus on Christmas morning of 1804, the British were in complete possession of the town and fortress of Deeg, and of all the guns both within and on the outside, comprising the principal part of the remaining artillery of Holkar, besides a large quantity of grain, and two lakhs of rupees in specie of the public property. Our loss was

[1] Eighty-seven guns taken on the 13th November, and twenty-eight now, will give only one hundred and fifteen guns, instead of one hundred and sixty, as stated by Thorn.

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forty-three killed and one hundred and eighty-four wounded, total two hundred and twenty-seven, including two officers killed and thirteen wounded. The number of guns taken in the town, citadel, and entrenchments under the walls, amounted to one hundred, of which sixteen were brass. The calibre of the iron guns were from seventy to sixty pounders, and twenty-eight-pounders and smaller calibre. Thus there was an intrenched camp, a fort, and citadel. The loss was small for the extent of the operations. Leaving a garrison in Deeg, Lord Lake marched on the 28th December, and was joined on the 31st, by Major-General Dowdeswell with his Majesty's 75th regiment, and a supply of stores.

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CHAPTER X.

BHURTPOOR,[1] 1805.

On the 1st January, 1805, the whole army marched towards Bhurtpoor, and arrived before that fortress on the 2nd. It is 30 miles west-north-west from Agra. On the night of the 5th January, batteries were erected, and opened their fire on the morning of the 7th. On the afternoon of the 9th the breach in the town wall being reported practicable, an attack was made the same evening to prevent the enemy stockading the breach during the night. There were three columns of attack. The left column, 150 of the European regiment, and a battalion of sepoys. The right column, two companies of his Majesty's 75th, and a battalion of sepoys. The centre column, the flank companies of his Majesty's 22nd, 75th, and 76th, and of the Company's European regiment, amounting to

[1] Thorn, vol. iv. p. 15.

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five hundred men, and a battalion of sepoys. The whole about three thousand men. They moved off at eight o'clock at night. The storm failed with a loss of four hundred and fifty-six killed and wounded. More batteries were erected. The enemy had stockaded the breach. On the 18th January, 1805, Major-General Smith, with three battalions of sepoys, and one hundred convalescent Europeans, in all about one thousand six hundred men, arrived in camp by a circuitous route. Ishmael Beg, a partisan of Holkar, who came over to us, joined with four hundred or five hundred horse.

Second storm, 21st January. Another breach made. To learn the breadth and depth of the ditch a havildar and two troopers of the 3rd native cavalry, volunteered their services. Dressed like the natives of the country, and pursued by men as if deserters, they got to the ditch by the stratagem of pretending to be enemies of the English and wishing to enter the fort, by which plan they passed along the ditch to a gateway and saw the breach, then galloped back to the army. They were rewarded and promoted. The storming party, one hundred and fifty men of the 76th, one hundred and twenty of the 75th,

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one hundred of the 1st Europeans, and the fifty remaining men of the 22nd flankers, (420) to lead the advance. Supported by the remainder of the above regiments, and the 2nd battalions of 9th, 15th, and 22nd, native infantry. These amounted to above three thousand men. During the storm the cavalry of Holkar and Meer Khan appeared, which called forth the British cavalry. The storm again failed, with a loss of eighteen officers killed and wounded, besides five hundred and seventy-three men, Europeans and natives.

A detachment consisting of His Majesty's 29th light dragoons, and two corps of native cavalry, with three battalions of sepoys, marched to Agra to escort supplies coming from that place to the army. On the 28th January they marched from Agra with a convoy consisting of fifty thousand bullocks carrying grain, and about eight hundred hackeries laden with stores and ammunition, eight thousand rounds of eighteen-pound shot, and six lakhs of rupees. The next day they fell in with the enemy in great force. The raja of Bhurtpoor, and his auxiliaries, Holkar, Meer Khan, and Bappoojee Sindia,[1] united their whole cavalry to attack the convoy—but

[1] Who deserted Colonel Monson in his retreat.

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Lord Lake, with the remaining cavalry in camp, and two corps of infantry marched and joined the convoy. They did not attack the convoy, which reached camp without the loss of a man or any of the cattle, on the 30th of January. On the 6th February the army changed ground, moving south-east to the right of the old camp, established a strong chain of posts, and prepared to renew the siege. The failure in the making any impression upon the convoy caused discontent among the chiefs. Meer Khan determined to act separately and proceeded to Rohilcund, his native country, where he expected to be joined by many others. He did not think Lord Lake could detach any troops from his army. He crossed the Jumna on the 7th February with his horse and many Pindarries. Lord Lake despatched the 8th, 27th, and 29th regiments of dragoons, and the 1st, 3rd, and 6th regiments of native cavalry, with the horse artillery, under Major-General Smith, in pursuit. General Smith came up with Meer Khan, near Afzulghur, close under the hills, on the 2nd of March, 1805. Leaving his baggage under the protection of the rear guard and the 3rd native cavalry, he, with the remaining troops, of about one thousand

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four hundred regular cavalry, Skinner's irregular horse, and the horse artillery, moved to attack the enemy in two lines, at two P.M. The enemy advanced to meet them. The horse artillery and the galloper guns fired briskly on the advancing foe. A body of alighols,[1] concealed in a nullah, sprang up suddenly, and attacked the horse artillery. Captain Deare, his Majesty's 8th dragoons, without orders, charged them with his squadron, and the enemy were soon defeated; but our horses were too fatigued to continue the pursuit after the retreating horse. Our loss was thirty-five men killed and wounded. General Smith returned to Bhurtpoor after a tedious chase of more than seven hundred miles.

On the 10th of February, Lord Lake had been joined by a division of the Bombay army, under Major-General Jones, consisting of His Majesty's 86th, and eight companies of His Majesty's 65th, four battalions of sepoys, a troop of Bombay cavalry, and five hundred irregular horse.

The 3rd storm, 21st February, 1805. The storming party, under Lieutenant-Colonel Don, was formed of the principal portion of the European force in the Bengal army,[2] and three bat-

[1] Mahommedan irregular troops.

[2] Thorn, p. 451, of the troops with Lord Lake.

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talions of sepoys; one column, consisting of two hundred of the 86th regiment from the Bombay division, and the 1st battalion 8th regiment of Bengal infantry, under Captain Grant of the 86th, was ordered to carry the enemy's trenches and their guns on the outside of the town; whilst the third column, composed of three hundred of the 65th regiment, and two battalions of Bombay sepoys, were to attack the Beem Narrain gate. The ditch was found to be impassable near the breach. The storming party consisted of about four thousand men. The colours of the 12th regiment Bengal native infantry were planted on the top of a bastion, but the ascent was so difficult that only one man at a time could get up. Fourteen officers climbed up to very near the summit, but seeing the attempt to be useless, Colonel Don recalled the party. Captain Grant took eleven of the enemy's guns. The storm was a third failure. Our loss was forty-nine Europeans and one hundred and thirteen natives killed, one hundred and seventy-six Europeans and five hundred and fifty-six natives wounded; in all, eight hundred and ninety-four men. There was one officer killed, and twenty-seven wounded. It was resolved to batter the

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bastion above-mentioned, to render it more easy of ascent. Lord Lake, as a last effort, called for volunteers, when they all volunteered to a man. The battering guns made a large gap at the bottom of the bastion, but the weight of the superincumbent part did not bring down the whole. The attempt was not abandoned.

Fourth storm, 22nd of February. The storming party[1] consisted of the whole European force, two battalions of native infantry of the Bengal army, the greater part of the 65th and 86th regiments, the grenadier battalion, and the flank companies of the 1st battalion 3rd regiment of the Bombay division, moved on to the attack about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 22nd of February, under the command of the Honourable Brigadier Monson. The force was about three thousand men. The bastion to be attacked was extremely steep, and there was no possibility of getting up to the summit. Several soldiers drove their bayonets into the wall, one over another, and endeavoured by these steps to reach the top, but were knocked down by logs of wood, and various missiles, from above. The enemy from the next bastion kept up a destructive fire.

[1] Thorn, p. 455.

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Several efforts were made against the curtain. The enemy's grape told with fatal effect. The people on the walls threw down upon the heads of the troops ponderous pieces of timber, and flaming packs of cotton, previously dipped in oil, followed by pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles, the explosion of which had a terrible effect.[1] The struggle was carried on with the most determined resolution on both sides. Brigadier Monson strained himself to the utmost in maintaining the unequal struggle; but after two hours arduous exertion, he was reluctantly compelled to relinquish the attempt, and return to the trenches. Our loss on this fatal occasion consisted of sixty-nine Europeans and fifty-six natives killed, four hundred and ten Europeans and four hundred and fifty-two natives wounded; in all, nine hundred and eighty-seven. There were six officers killed, and twenty-eight officers wounded.

Thorn gives the loss, in all the operations, at three thousand one hundred men, and one hundred and three officers killed and wounded.[2]

[1] Sometimes chuppurs (or roofs of native huts and houses, made of grass and bamboos) with oil thrown over them, are set on fire, and thrown into the ditch.

[2] The loss appears to have been in the four assaults, four hundred and fifty-six, five hundred and seventy-three,

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He imputes the failure to the troops losing the road to the breach at the first assault. The guide was leading the centre column in the right direction, when the officer commanding it interfered. The enemy were seen leaving the breach, but returned on seeing the column make a detour in the wrong direction.[1] Thorn says, "The inhabitants were in the utmost confusion, and using every means to effect their escape from a town, the fate of which they considered as sealed." The loss on each succeeding attack increased in amount. The enemy gained confidence. After the last failure, the siege was converted into a blockade. Our guns were mostly blown at the touch-hole, and rendered unserviceable. Detachments were sent to Agra for fresh supplies. The army took up a position to the north-east of Bhurtpoor. Convoys with supplies and battering guns and ammunition, coming from Futtyghur and Allyghur, arrived daily in camp. The raja became alarmed that he would

eight hundred and ninety-four, and nine hundred and eighty-seven men—(two thousand nine hundred and ten); and fifteen officers killed, and ninety-five wounded—(one hundred and ten)

[1] The statement of the late Major-General Sir J. R. Lumley, Adjutant-General Bengal army.

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be humbled at last. His treasury was exhausted, and he could no longer pay his allies, who were themselves humbled by the British arms. He availed himself of the intelligence of General Lake's being created a peer to congratulate him, and to intimate his desire for peace. In consequence, the vakeels of the raja were received in camp on the 10th of March. There was some delay in the negotiations, and the terms of the treaty were not signed till the 10th of April, 1805. The raja agreed to pay twenty lakhs of rupees (£200,000),[1] and not to entertain any Europeans in his service without our sanction; the fortress of Deeg to be retained till the British government were assured of his fidelity. On the 21st of April, the united force broke up. They marched in two columns, the left formed of the Bengal infantry, headed by the 1st brigade of cavalry, and the right column by the Bombay division, headed by the 2nd brigade of cavalry, the baggage being in the centre, between the two columns. A regiment of native cavalry and the reserve formed the advance, as the picquets and irregular horse did the rear-guard.

[1] Three lakhs rupees, to be paid in advance. It is believed that the whole was not paid.

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On the march, they were joined by a detachment convoying thirty thousand bullocks carrying grain.[1]

At the commencement of the siege, Lord Lake's army did not amount to above nine thousand men,[2] and ten guns for breaching, &c. When the army broke up, the Bengal army and Bombay divisions amounted to nine thousand nine hundred and ninety, and five thousand nine hundred and twenty; total, fifteen thousand nine hundred and ten men. The Bombay force joined after the second storm. Deducting one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one lost in the third and fourth storms, and the army before Bhurtpoor amounted at one time to seventeen thousand seven hundred and ninety-two men, or about two-thirds of the force employed in 1825-26, under Lord Combermere: while the siege-train, in 1825, was five times greater as to the number of guns, mortars, &c. The enemy were enabled to fill the ditch from a jheel (tank). At the siege in 1825, the first effort was to prevent

[1] From two hundred to two hundred and forty pounds each.

[2] Three battalions sepoys and one hundred Europeans joined after the first storm.

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the enemy cutting the bund (embankment). The siege equipment in 1805 was wretchedly defective; and it must be recollected, that with all the aid of a large and powerful siege-train, we were obliged, in 1825, to have recourse to mining, in which department Lord Lake was very deficient. The enemy added more bastions since 1805, which was considered to have weakened the fortress. The Bombay division left the army on the 10th May, 1805, to return to their destination *viâ* Rampoora, the route by which Colonel Monson had retreated from Holkar's army.

Holkar was still roaming about the country. When the raja of Bhurtpoor made overtures for peace,[1] Holkar's horse were still near Bhurtpoor. Lord Lake attacked his camp, and killed a number of his men. They went off in bodies. The army was to be prepared to act against Holkar. Lord Lake kept his troops now more near the scene of action.[2] On the 4th June, 1805, the 8th, 24th, and 25th Light Dragoons (formerly 27th and 29th), encamped at Secundra, about six miles from the city. The other corps proceeded to Agra, while His Majesty's 75th and

[1] Thorn, p. 460. [2] Thorn, p. 472.

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76th regiments, with the Company's European regiment, were stationed at Futtypore,[1] under Colonel Monson; and the rest marched on to Muttra, with Major-General Smith. Thus was the whole (field) army kept on the west side of the Jumna, ready to move at a moment's warning, and to co-operate in any exigency.

[1] Futtypoor Sikree, about twenty-five miles from Agra.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE Marquis Wellesley was succeeded as governor-general by Marquis Cornwallis, who arrived in Calcutta on the 30th July, 1805.[1] The Marquis Cornwallis objected to the scheme of alliances which he found had been established by his predecessor, and recurred to his former opinion regarding the impolicy of all connexion with the Mahrattah states,[2] as well as with the nizam. Lord Lake had received his instructions from Lord Cornwallis,[3] to carry out certain political arrangements based upon the above opinions, but principally regarding the Rajpoot states. Lord Lake wrote,[4] "If the Mahrattahs[5] were thrown

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 639. [2] Mill, vol. vi. p. 644.

[3] The marquis came out as governor-general and commander-in-chief in India. Lord Lake tendered his resignation, determined to be *secundus nulli*.

[4] Assistant-surgeon R. Leny (surgeon to Lord Lake) wrote most of his lordship's despatches and letters. He was afterwards secretary to the Medical Board, Calcutta.

[5] Mill, vol. vi. p. 653.

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back from the Company's frontier, to the distance originally planned,[1] a strong barrier would be interposed against them in every direction. To the north-west, the countries of Hurrianah, Bicaneer, Jodpore, and the northern parts of Jeypore, and the Shekawutee, dry, sandy, mountainous, and inhabited by a warlike race, could not be crossed by a hostile army without the greatest difficulty and loss. The roads further south, by Mewat or Bhurtpoor, somewhat less impassable, but more than one hundred and fifty miles in length, to the Jumna, through a country with many difficult passes, strong towns, and a warlike and predatory population, would, under a union with the chiefs in that direction, and a well-established line of defence on the part of the British government, be impracticable to a Mahrattah army. Though, from the southern part of the territories of Bhurtpoor, to the junction of the Chumbal with the Jumna, the approach from Malwa presented little difficulty; this line was short; the number of fords so far down the Jumna was much less than higher up, and a British corps, well posted, would afford in this

[1] Not to let the Mahrattahs regain a footing in the upper provinces of India.

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direction all the security which could be desired. If the princes in this region were, for awhile, protected by the British government, they would recover from that state of disunion, poverty and weakness into which they had been thrown, partly by the policy, partly by the vices of the Mahrattah governments. If abandoned to themselves, they would soon be all subdued, either by Sindia, or some other conquering hero; and a state of things would be introduced, in the highest degree unfavourable to the interests of the British government."

Before the Governor-general received this remonstrance, he was too ill to discharge the functions of government. He died at Ghazeepoor on the 5th of October, 1805. Sir G. H. Barlow[1] succeeded as Governor-general. He stated his resolution to adhere to the plan of his predecessor in "abandoning all connexion with the petty states, and, generally, with the territories to the westward of the Jumna."

Holkar, after his flight from Lord Lake,[2] retreated into the Jodpore and Rajpoot country. Lord Lake, with five regiments of cavalry, four

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 658.
[2] Thorn, p. 478.

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corps of infantry,[1] and horse artillery, followed Holkar into the Punjab. The Sikhs in a grand national council, agreed to withhold all aid from Holkar. At last, a treaty was signed between Holkar and the British government on the 7th January, 1806.[2] Sindia's vakeel had accompanied the British army. A treaty was made between Sindia and the British government. Gwalior, and the greatest part of Gohud, were ceded to Sindia, not as a right, but from considerations of friendship. The British government also engaged[3] "to enter into no treaties with the rana of Oudipore, rajas of Jodpore, Kotah, and other chiefs, the tributaries of Sindia, in Malwa, Mewar or Marwar; and to interfere in no respect with the conquests made by Sindia from the Holkar family, between the rivers Taptee and Chumbul." This treaty was ratified on the 25th December, 1805. Meer Khan, Holkar's general, was sorely displeased at not being even noticed in the treaty between his master (Holkar) and the British

[1] Eighth, 24th, and 25th Light Dragoons; 3rd and 6th Native Cavalry, His Majesty's 22nd foot, Company's European regiment, 1st battalions of the 9th and 11th Native Infantry, and park of artillery.

[2] Thorn, p. 494.

[3] Mill, vol. vi. p. 663.

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government,[1] and sarcastically observed, that "*a fly could torment an elephant.*"[2] He certainly did torment the country in the Rajpoot states. Subsequently, (after the Mahrattah and Pindaree war) we gave him the title of Nawab Ameer Khan. It was singular, that there should have been two personages connected with the negotiation regarding Holkar, having only one eye. Holkar himself had but one eye, and Runjeet Sing, of Lahore, the mediator, had only one eye. The latter, many years afterwards, told Sir C. M. Wade,[3] that he was truly glad to get rid of two such great personages as Lord Lake and Holkar. Holkar became mad in 1811, and Meer Khan had for many years the management of his affairs, in the name of Holkar's wife. The British army began to retrace its steps on the 9th of January, 1806.

Sir George Barlow[4] disregarded Lord Lake's remonstrance in favour of the Raja of Jypoor and of Boondee. Lord Lake represented Boondee as commanding a principal pass into the northern

[1] Thorn, p. 497.

[2] The skin of the elephant is so thin, that a mosquito can annoy the animal.

[3] The political agent.

[4] Mill, vol. vi. p. 665.

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provinces of the British empire. That the raja's services to our government had excited the utmost rage of Holkar, to whom he was tributary, by the aid he gave to Colonel Monson during his retreat. The raja of Jypoor had entered into the system of defensive alliance with the British government at an early period of the war with Sindia; Lord Cornwallis had, on the 3rd of August, 1805, directed the treaty to be treated as dissolved. At that time the armies of Sindia and Holkar were on the frontiers of Jypoor, and the Bombay army, then not far from the capital of Jypoor, drew their supplies from the raja's country. Before Lord Cornwallis's orders reached Lord Lake he had encouraged, naturally enough, the raja to found a claim for British protection for services in his power to render. When Holkar in October passed in the direction of Jypoor, the raja joined the Bombay army under General Jones, and by his aid enabled the General to maintain a position in that quarter of great importance. The Governor-general considered the obligations of the British government as dissolved by the early appearances of disaffection on the part of the raja, and not restored by his subsequent deserts." Mill adds, "Lord Lake was

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afterwards compelled to receive the bitter reproaches of the raja, through the mouth of one of his agents, at Delhi." Sir G. Barlow was placed in the peculiar position of succeeding to a governor-general who had only a few months before arrived from England. The home authorities had disapproved of the Mahrattah war, in its extended scale.[1] Lord Cornwallis wrote Lord Lake,[2] "This resolution" of "abandoning all connexion with the petty states, and generally, with the territories to the westward of the Jumna," is founded upon "my knowledge of the entire conformity of those grand principles to the provisions of the legislature, and to the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors." He himself thought the measure expedient to the British interests in India. The Rajpoot states, not having the protection of the British government, were plundered for many years by Meer Khan and the Pindarees, till the Marquis of Hastings, in 1817, entered upon the Mahrattah and Pindaree war on a great scale, and restored

[1] The Directors had signed Lord Wellesley's recall; which the Board of Control over-ruled.—Book's East India Affairs, 1832; Appendix, p. 205.

[2] Mill, vol. vi. p. 658.

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peace, happiness, and tranquility to the Rajpoot states, and throughout our frontier.

When the Court of Directors heard of the death of the Marquis Cornwallis,[1] they determined to nominate Sir George Barlow permanently as governor-general.[2] The Marquis Wellesley when governor-general, had recommended Mr. Barlow as his successor; and the Board of Control acquiesced in the nomination. The ministers heard of the Marquis's death in the end of January, 1806.[3] A change of ministers took place on the death of Mr. Pitt. Lord Minto was one of the new ministers, as President of the Board of Control. On the 14th February, 1806, he urged on the Court of Directors the importance of investing Sir G. Barlow with the fullest powers, and recommending his appointment as governor-general. The Court signed a commission on the 25th of February. On the 10th of March, to the surprise of the Court, they were informed that ministers had determined to appoint the Earl of Lauderdale. The Court

[1] Mill, vol. vii. p. 106.

[2] He had been chief secretary to the government of Bengal, and was senior member of council.

[3] Mill, vol. vii. p. 147.

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refused to cancel their appointment. The ministry retaliated by a warrant under the king's sign manual, recalling Sir G. Barlow. The Court was compelled to agree to a compromise, by which the Earl of Lauderdale,[1] ostensibly declined the acceptance of the office, and Lord Minto was nominated governor-general. Lord Minto arrived in Calcutta on the 3rd July, 1807, and Sir G. Barlow was appointed Governor of Madras, in the room of Lord W. Bentinck, who had been recalled.

The sentiments which had been expressed both by the ministry and the Court of Directors,[2] adverse to the system of policy followed by Lord Wellesley, imposed upon Lord Minto the obligation of adopting principles of a less ambitious tenor, and of pursuing the measures which had been instituted by Lord Cornwallis and Sir G. Barlow, for the retrenchment of public expenditure, and the preservation of external tranquility. The new administration was therefore pacific. His early attention was given to the

[1] Lord Lauderdale was a zealous supporter of Mr. Fox's India bill, and an opposer of the Company's privileges. Mill quotes from the Gentleman's Magazine, 1839.

[2] Mill, vol. vii. p. 171.

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province of Bundelcund, which we obtained from the peishwa, and had only been in our possession a little more than three years. The province was in an unsettled state. It was not found possible,[1] however, to exterminate the banditti who roamed through the country, as long as they found shelter and support in its principal fortresses; and it was rendered necessary to employ military force for their humiliation. Ajayguh was surrendered to us on the 13th Feb. 1809.[2] In 1809, and afterwards, the famous Gopal Sing gave great trouble to our troops, while Colonel Martindell's force was concentrated in a different quarter of the province.[3]

Kalinjar,[4] a fortified hill, twenty miles south-east of Banda, in Bundelcund, gave more trouble. Imperfect and weak batteries made an impracticable breach, which was reported practicable on the 2nd February, 1812, and stormed. The storming party were assailed by volleys of large stones and a brisk fire of matchlocks. They reached the foot of the parapet. Ladders were

[1] Mill, vol. vii. p. 173.

[2] Mill, vol. vii. p. 175.

[3] Lieutenant-General Archibald Watson was employed against Gopal Sing.

[4] Mill, vol. vi. p. 185.

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applied, but it was difficult to fix them, and as fast as the men ascended they were knocked down by heavy stones, or shot by matchlocks. At length the storming party was recalled.[1] Two officers were killed, one wounded, and about one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded. Wilson says, "this stronghold, which had baffled Mahomed of Ghaznee, had seen Shir Shah perish before its walls, and had sustained a ten years' siege by Ali Bahadur, was thus added to the British conquests. The siege train, six eighteen pounders, two twelve-pounders, and two mortars, could not make a breach. Like the Droogs in the south of India, the upper forts were usually gained by bribing the garrison, or by a system of starvation. Treaties were made with the different petty rajas in Bundelcund, who engaged to keep up a certain quota of troops, and to prevent any banditti passing through their country. It was well observed[2] that the best plan for preserving the peace of the province, was to compel these rajas to act up to the strict letter of their treaty; which would have saved the expense and exposure of troops in running

[1] Mill, vol. vi. p. 188.

[2] By Sir T. H. Maddock.

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(making dours) after these plunderers or banditti.

Macao[1] 1808.—"An attempt was made by the government of Bengal to secure the possession of the Portuguese settlement of Macao for the Prince Regent, and place it under British protection, in the same manner, or by similar arrangements, as Madeira had been. But the Emperor of China sent orders to the governor of the district, within which Macao is situated, not to allow the English Company's ships to trade, until such concessions and apologies should be made, for the attempt to station a military force in that island, as might be amply sufficient for the purpose of inducing him to pardon them:—concessions were made to the *celestial empire*, and harmony was re-established." Major Weguelin with a detachment of the Bengal European regiment was sent to Macao. The Chinese were very insolent, and the major was praised for his firmness and command of temper. There were thirteen or fourteen China ships waiting for cargoes; so that a stoppage of trade would have been of great importance. Our object was to secure Macao against an attack by the French. From Madras two

[1] "Annual Register," 1808, p. 240, History of Europe.

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companies of his Majesty's 30th regiment and two companies of the European regiment from Bengal, and six hundred sepoys, and six vessels of war, under Rear-admiral Drury,[1] were sent. The troops were landed, but re-embarked on the 23rd of December, 1808.

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 319 (*Note* 1.)

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CHAPTER XII.

THE SIKHS,[1] 1809.

RUNJEET SING, the Sikh chief, had succeeded his father who was one of the chiefs of the Punjab. Runjeet by his own talent had made his authority paramount to the west of the Sutlej, and now desired to extend his influence and power across it to the Jumna. In 1806 the rajas of Patiala and Naba having quarrelled, the latter called in Runjeet Sing. He crossed the Sutlej with a strong party of horse and dictated terms of reconciliation. In 1807 he again interfered in the case of the wife of the Patiala raja. The Sikh chiefs in that quarter became alarmed, and applied to the resident at Delhi to defend them against the ambition of their countryman. Lord Minto resolved to resist the pretensions of Runjeet Sing to the exercise of any authority on the right bank of the Jumna, yet he still desired to secure his concurrence in the scheme of defensive

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 195.

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alliance, against the hostile designs of France against India. Runjeet had written to Lord Minto; his lordship referred him for a reply to the resident at Delhi, who was sent on a mission to Lahore. Sir C. Metcalfe crossed on the 1st of September, 1808, and had an audience of Runjeet at Umritsir. Runjeet had even seized upon Umballa, and had exacted tribute from the petty rajas of Shahabad and Thanesur (between the Jumna and Umballa). He remonstrated and appeared resolved to maintain his pretensions by arms; the British government having decided that the Sutlej should be Runjeet's boundary, a detachment crossed the Jumna in the middle of January, 1809, and proceeded to Loodianah, whilst an army of reserve under the command of Major-general St. Leger was prepared to support the advance; this force consisted of several thousand men. The troops of Runjeet fell back as Colonel Ochterlony's[1] detachment approached.

During the stay of the British embassy near Umritsir the anniversary of the Mohurrum occured, and the deaths of Ali and his sons, Hasan and Hosain, were commemorated[2] by the Shia

[1] He had been resident at Delhi in 1803; and defended it in 1804.

[2] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 199.

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Mahommedans of the envoy's escort. The celebration gave great offence to the Sikh population[1] of Umritsir, which is the site of their most sacred temple; and especially to the Akális, a set of Sikh fanatics who combine a religious and martial character. Headed by the Akális, a mob attacked the envoy's camp; they were repulsed by the escort, consisting of two companies and sixteen troopers. Several of the assailants were killed, and many of the sepoys were wounded. Runjeet came up at the close of the affray, and assisted in quelling the tumult, which it was suspected he had fomented. It gave him a favourable opinion of our sepoys. On the 25th April, 1809, a treaty was concluded, which stipulated perpetual friendship between the British government and the state of Lahore; and article first, "that the British government, should have no concern with the territories and subjects of the rajas to the northward of the river Sutlej; that the Sikhs should never maintain on the left bank of the river, more troops than were necessary for the internal duties of the territory belonging to them, nor commit nor suffer any encroachment

[1] The Sikhs will receive proselytes from Mahommedans as well as Hindoos.

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on the possession or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity." Thus terminated all our friendly discussions. The rajas between the Sutlej and the Jumna and their territories were placed under the protection of the British government—these were styled the "Protected Sikh states." Thorn says, Lord Lake proposed that the Sutlej should be our frontier.

Mr. Wilson[1] thinks there is no satisfactory proof that the Emperor Napoleon ever seriously contemplated the invasion of India. That the conquest of Egypt, in addition to the purpose of establishing a French colony in that country, to divert the stream of commerce between India and Europe, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Bab-al-Mandal, was his object, and thus to annihilate one of the sources of British prosperity. But[2] he had said, that whatever nation obtained possession of Egypt, would gain India. The object was to be prepared, against an attack, *via* Egypt, to conquer India.

Cabool.—1809. The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone[3] was sent on an embassy to Cabool. He left

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 203

[2] Dr. O'Mera's "Voice from St. Helena."

[3] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 208.

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Delhi on the 13th October, 1808, and reached Peshawur on the 5th March, 1809; having taken a circuitous route, *via* Bikaner and Jesselmer, to the frontiers of Bahawulpoor, and, through Mooltan, to the Indus. The object was to form a treaty with Shah Shuja, to protect India from an invasion by the French or Persians. The Shah marched towards Cabool in June 1809. Taking leave of the king, the mission marched from Peshawur on the 14th June. The king was defeated on his march, and the Governor-general recalled the mission. A treaty had been signed.

Persia, in relation to India. According to Sir J. M'Neill,[1] who was long ambassador to the Persian court, the king of Persia, being unable to cope with Russia, addressed a letter to Napoleon, desiring to form an alliance with France. M. Jaubert was sent to Tehren. Mirza Reza, in return, went on a mission to Napoleon; accompanied him to Tilsit, and concluded a treaty, which was ratified at Fénkenstein in May 1807. At the same time, Mahommed Nebbee Khan was

[1] M'Neill's "Progress and Present Position of Russia," 1838, p. 55. He also states, that a plan was given to Catharine of Russia in 1787 for the march of an army *via* Bokhara and Cashmere. P. 46.

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sent as envoy to the British government of India, to claim its assistance against Russia; but his mission was unsuccessful; and Persia, losing all hope of support from her old ally, had no alternative but to throw herself into the arms of France. At Tilsit, a secret treaty was signed in 1807 between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander; having for its object the invasion of India, each agreeing to furnish thirty thousand men. Napoleon seems to have given up that design. The next step which he took, was to send General Gardanne as ambassador to the court of Persia. French officers were sent, who first introduced European discipline into the Persian army. French engineers built the first regular fortifications.

In 1809, Sir J. Malcolm was sent on a second mission[1] to Persia from India. French influence prevented Malcolm's reception, as not being an ambassador from the king of Great Britain. General Gardanne, the French ambassador, had persuaded the Shah of Persia to take a French

[1] The first in 1799. Sir H. Jones was also sent in 1809 from England. Wilson says, vol. vii. p. 224, the government of India issued orders to fit out a military expedition to occupy the island of Kharak, and hold command of the Persian gulf. (Malcolm, vol. i. p. 415, Political History of India.)

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subsidiary force; but Napoleon disapproved of the measure, and the shah gave a favourable reception to the British mission, and obliged the French embassy to retire; and procured a Persian ambassador to be sent to England. Sir H. Jones settled a preliminary treaty on the 12th of March, 1809, to the following effect, as regarded the invasion of India. Article IV.[1]—"In case any *European* forces shall invade the territories of Persia, his Britannic Majesty will afford a force, or, in lieu of it, a subsidy. That, in case the dominions of his Britannic Majesty in India are attacked or invaded by the *Affghans*, or any *other power*, his majesty the King of Persia shall afford a force for the protection of the said dominions."[2] The definitive treaty concluded at Tehran by Messrs. Morrier and Ellis, on the 25th November, 1814, fixed the subsidy to Persia, if troops were not furnished at two hundred thousand tomauns (£125,000);[3] but the late Abbas Merza, prince

[1] Parliamentary Papers.

[2] Sir H. Jones returned to England in 1811. A treaty founded on this was settled by Sir Gore Ousley, who was sent to Persia from England. A commercial and political treaty in 1801, was settled by Sir J. Malcolm.

[3] At 12s. 6d. They are of different values.

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royal of Persia, in March 1828, gave his bond, cancelling the subsidy, provided two hundred thousand tomauns (£125,000) were given by the British government to Persia, towards liquidating the indemnity due by Persia to Russia: this the king of Persia confirmed. In 1814, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Persia, by which the latter ceded to Russia all her acquisitions south of the Caucasus, and engaged to maintain no navy on the Caspian Sea, which now belongs to Russia. By the treaty of 1828 with Persia, Russia established the line of the Arras (Araxes) as her frontier towards Persia.

Madras mutiny. In 1809, a mutiny occurred among the officers of the Madras army regarding an order which had been issued, abolishing the tent contract, a monthly allowance in peace or for war, enjoyed by commanding officers of regiments for supplying the men with suitable camp equipage when required. "The retrenchment was originally suggested by Sir John Craddock; and he called upon Colonel John Munro, the quarter-master-general of the army, to report whether it was not practicable without detriment to the efficiency of the troops, and how it might be best accomplished. The report advocated the change,

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and submitted a mode of effecting it. The plan was approved of by Sir J. Cradock, by Lord W. Bentinck, and by the government of Bengal. It merely fell to Sir George Barlow to carry it into execution." There were some words in the report "capable of individual application, and might be construed into an accusation that the officers in command of corps had consulted their own profit at the expense of the public service, and had appropriated the tent allowance, without keeping up an adequate tent establishment." [1] The officers resented the imputation, and though Colonel Munro disclaimed any intention of reflecting upon the honour and integrity of any portion of the officers, they called upon the commander-in-chief (Lieutenant-general Hay Macdowall) to bring Colonel Munro to a court-martial, and sent in charges. The judge-advocate-general considered that the accusers had no right to prefer charges. The officers then proposed to send a memorial to the Court of Directors. In the meanwhile, the commander-in-chief determined that the charge should be entertained. On the eve of quitting Madras, he placed Colonel Munro in arrest, to be brought to trial by the

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. pp. 264—301.

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succeeding commander-in-chief. Colonel Munro appealed to the government, under whose orders he had acted, and sent his appeal through the commander-in-chief, who declining to submit the appeal to government, Colonel Munro sent it direct; which he had then a right to do. The government at first requested, and then commanded, the commander-in-chief to release Colonel Munro. General Macdowall was obliged to obey; but, on the eve of departure, he issued an order, stating that, but for his departure, he would have brought the colonel to trial for disrespect in resorting to the civil power, and issued a reprimand.

The government of Madras removed General Macdowall from the command of the army (though on the eve of departure), and cancelled his resignation, and suspended the adjutant-general (Colonel Capper) and Major Bowles (the deputy adjutant-general) for publishing the order of the commander-in-chief. The judge advocate general said, that "even in the case of military men, the illegal commands of a superior are invalid."[1] On the 1st of May, 1809, by the order

[1] Quite correct. It was known to be in opposition to government, who had ordered Colonel Munro's release from arrest.

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of government, four officers of rank were suspended the service, and an equal number removed from their commands, and four suspended in the command of their corps. They were accused of having signed an address to Major Bowles, and having signed, and influenced others to sign, a memorial to the Governor-general, in which the supposed grievances of the Madras army were detailed. The governor had been advised to restore the suspended officers. Matters became worse, and Lord Minto (governor-general) sailed for Madras on the 11th of September. Several officers were tried for mutinous conduct while in the command of the forces of government; some were cashiered, and others acquitted, but suspended till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known.[1] Lord Minto staid at Madras till the beginning of 1810, when General Hewett, the commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, assumed the command of the Madras army. At the end of 1810, General Sir S. Auchmuty became commander-in-chief of the Madras army. The Court of Directors at first approved of the con-

[1] Major-general Gowdie was made commander-in-chief for the time.

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duct of the governor of Madras, but when the alarm had subsided, the court were divided in opinion on the subject, though they cordially approved of the conduct of the Governor-general of India.

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CHAPTER XIII.

EXPEDITION TO THE MAURITIUS, 1810.

It is stated[1] that, in 1807, Admiral Pellew had under his orders, in different parts of the Indian seas, six ships of the line, sixteen frigates, and six sloops. Notwithstanding the presence in the Indian seas of so many ships of war, armed vessels issued from the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, and preyed upon the maritime trade of India almost with impunity. The Marquis Wellesley had proposed to capture those islands. Again, the Company's government had, at the beginning of the war, been interdicted[2] from engaging in any expedition against the islands, as involving a certain expense. It was latterly at first proposed to attempt a rigorous blockade by the squadron at the Cape of Good Hope, under Admiral Bertie; but this was impracticable, as the ships would have so far to go for supplies; to the Cape or to Bombay. It was

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 322. [2] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 325.

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determined, in 1809, to occupy the small island of Rodriguez, about one hundred leagues east of the Isle of France, for establishing magazines, &c. A small force of two hundred Europeans and two hundred sepoys, under Lieut.-Colonel Keating, were sent from Bombay, and landed on the 4th of August. The captures made in 1809 and 1810 proved that the system of blockade would not answer. Further measures being necessary, the forces, both military and naval, were strengthened, and in September 1809, an expedition proceeded from Rodriguez to the Isle de Bourbon. Arrived off the island on the morning of the 20th of September, a force of six hundred men was disembarked about seven miles from St. Pauls. By the evening, the town was in our possession. A French frigate was captured, and two East India Company's Indiamen were recaptured. The English squadron, with the captured vessels, returned to Rodriguez. This success induced the Bengal government to attempt, without waiting for instructions from home, the complete destruction of the French islands.

In the beginning of 1810, a reinforcement[1]

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 328.

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of one thousand six hundred Europeans, and as many native troops, was despatched to Colonel Keating, to enable him to complete the subjugation of the Isle de Bourbon. A strong squadron of five frigates,[1] under Commodore Rowley, arrived off the point of debarkation on the 6th of July, 1810. The troops landed on the 7th of July; one brigade landed towards the west, and the other three brigades to the east of St. Dennis, and were in possession of the island by the evening of the 8th July. Our loss was one officer and seventeen men killed, and fifty-nine wounded. No effort was made from the Isle of France to interrupt these operations, in consequence of the absence of the principal strength of the French naval force.

On the 20th of August, the French frigates Bellone, Minerve, and Victor, returned to the Isle of France, with the Wyndham and Ceylon, captured Indiamen. The Isle de la Passe had been taken possession of on the 14th of August by the boats of the Sirius and one hundred and thirty men from Bourbon. The French found Port St. Louis blockaded, and made for Grand Port (Port Impérial). On nearing the Isle de

[1] Sirius, Iphigenia, Magicienne, Nereide and Boadicea.

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la Passe, a small islet, with a fort, lying off the mouth of the harbour, about three miles from the land, the enemy were surprised by a hostile fire from the guns of the fort, and of the Nereide frigate, which had been stationed off the island. The French made their way into the harbour, but the Wyndham was recaptured by the boats of the Sirius. Sending off his prize to Bourbon, Captain Pym, in communication with Captain Willoughby of the Nereide, determined to attack the French ships in the harbour, and on the 22nd August, stood in for that purpose. The Sirius grounded, and could not be got off till next day, when the Iphigenia and Magicienne, under Captains Lambert and Curtis, arrived to take part in the engagement. General Decaen, the governor of the Mauritius, reinforced the crews of the French ships with seamen and soldiers, and strengthened the batteries on that part of the coast, which mounted sixty guns.

The result was most unfortunate to the British frigates. The Magicienne on the 23rd in following in at five P. M. grounded; the Sirius again grounded. The Nereide which had previously grounded, having most of her guns disabled, the greater part of her crew killed or wounded, and

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being exposed to the fire of the land-batteries, struck her colours. On the 24th, the Magicienne being unmanageable and on the point of sinking, was deserted and set on fire. On the 25th, the Iphigenia warped out of the action, and attempted to extricate the Sirius; but, finding it impracticable, she was set on fire and exploded. The Iphigenia, the sole remaining ship, contrived to get back to the Isle de la Passe, where she landed the surviving crews of the other vessels. In this situation and surrounded without provisions, Captain Lambert found himself under the necessity of capitulating to the French commodore. The only British ship of war of the blockading squadron now left was the Boadicea, and Commodore Rowley was unable to prevent the blockade of the Isle of Bourbon, which was established by the French frigates, Astrea and Iphigenia.[1]

Capture of the Isle of France,[2] 1810.—Rear-admiral Drury reached Rodriguez on the 3rd of November, 1810. The division from Bombay was already present. The Madras division arrived on the 6th of November; the armament from Bengal did not arrive till the 21st. The whole fleet

[1] The latter just surrendered by the English.

[2] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 338.

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weighed on the 29th of November, and came to anchor off the point selected for debarkation in Grande Baye, near the N. E. extremity of the island, about fifteen miles north from the capital. No opposition was experienced, and the whole force was landed by three o'clock in the afternoon. There were five brigades:—

First brigade, Colonel Picton; his Majesty's 12th and 22nd regiments, and right wing Madras volunteer battalion.

Second brigade, Colonel Gibbs; three hundred of the 89th, a company of the 87th, and left wing Madras volunteers.

Third brigade, Lieutenant-colonel Kelso; 14th regiment 2nd Bengal volunteers.

Fourth brigade, Colonel Macleod; Madras native flank battalion, and three hundred marines.

Fifth brigade, 65th foot, a troop 26th Dragoons, and 1st Bengal volunteers.

Reserve division, Lieutenant-colonel Keating; 84th regiment, flank companies of some other corps, and the Bombay native troops.

These with the artillery, and a large body of seamen, formed a force of about eleven thousand

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three hundred men.[1] General Decaen had not more than two thousand Europeans, including the crews of the ships of war, a considerable number of colonists, and a body of African slaves, without discipline and badly armed. The English squadron consisted of the Illustrious, seventy-four, and the thirteen frigates, Cornwallis, Africane, Boadicea, Nisus, Clorinde, Cornelia, Menelaus, Psyche, Ceylon, Nereide,[2] Phœbe, Doris, and Vesper, besides sloops and gun-brigs.

On landing, the troops were formed and moved towards Port Louis, for the first five miles along the coast, passing through a thick wood. On clearing the wood, the heads of the columns were fired upon by a small picquet. The troops chiefly suffered from the excessive heat of the weather and want of water. After clearing the wood, the army bivouacked for the night. The next morning the march was resumed; but excessive heat and scanty supply of water compelled General Abercrombie to halt, about five miles short of Port Louis upon the bed of the Pamplemousse river.

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 340. European troops, six thousand three hundred; two thousand seamen and marines; the 4th Bengal and Madras volunteers, and Madras pioneers, three thousand.—Total, eleven thousand three hundred.

[2] The French Venus, now Nereide.

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On the 31st the force again advanced, and came soon upon the enemy, who had taken up an advantageous position in front with several field-pieces; these were charged and taken. The army then moved on, and drew up in front of the lines defending Port Louis, preparatory to an assault next morning, whilst the ships of war should cannonade the town from the sea. General Decaen offered to capitulate. The terms of his surrender were agreed upon; and the Isle of France became subject to the British crown. The troops of the garrison and crews of the ships of war were to be conveyed in English ships to European France, instead of becoming prisoners of war; taking with them all property declared to be private. The ships in the harbour, with all stores and public property, fell to the captors. The inhabitants were secured in the continuance of their religion, laws, and customs.[1] The Isle of Bourbon was restored to France at the peace (1814). It does not, like the Isle of France, contain any good harbour.

[1] See also "Asiatic Annual Register," vol. xii.; History, p. 15; London Gazette Extraordinary, February 13th, 1811.

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CHAPTER XIV.

EXPEDITION TO JAVA, 1811.

THOUGH French privateers only occasionally haunted the roads of Batavia, or cruised amongst the islands of the Indian Archipelago,[1] still Batavia and these islands were so many rallying points. Blockades in distant seas still render the having other ships to cruize about to defend the trade, necessary. The first measures sanctioned contemplated a vigorous blockade of Java and the Spice Islands. Each island would require a separate blockade, so that it would have rendered necessary a system of blockades expensive, and requiring a great many ships of war. It was therefore, judged by Lord Minto and Admiral Drury, proper to attempt the conquest of Java and the Dutch islands. Reinforcements had been received at Java, but none at the Moluccas as yet. In the middle of February

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 343.

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1810,[1] Captain Tucker, with his Majesty's ship Dover, Cornwall, and Samarang, and part of the Madras European regiment, Captain Court arrived off the island of Amboyna. While the squadron occupied the attention of the enemy by a vigorous cannonade, four hundred troops were landed, and divided into two bodies, one led by Capt. Phillips, the other by Captain Court. The first stormed a battery and carried it. Captain Court made a detour to the south of the town, reached a height above Fort Victoria, surmounted by a redoubt, which was abandoned as they entered it from the rear. The ships kept up a brisk cannonade on the sea face of the town.

On the following morning, the batteries in possession of the British opened on the town and fort, and soon silenced their fire. A summons to surrender was sent to the Dutch governor, and was promptly obeyed. A capitulation was entered into, and a garrison of more than one thousand three hundred Europeans and Malays laid down their arms. The Dutch troops were sent to Java; the Malays were taken into the British service. The whole of the Moluccas were subsequently reduced, and Java and its

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 344.

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dependencies alone remained in the possession of the Dutch.

1811.—The expedition against Java[1] having completed its preparations, the first division, under the command of Colonel Robert Rollo Gillespie, sailed on the 18th of April, 1811, from the Madras Roads, under the convoy of his Majesty's ship Caroline, Captain Cole. The remainder of the troops followed in about a week, under Major-general Wetherall. A tremendous hurricane, which came on the day after their departure, threatened to involve the whole in a general wreck. His Majesty's ship Dover, and all the other vessels remaining in the roads were driven on shore by the violence of the tempest, and were lost. All the transports, having left in time, escaped. On the 18th of May the first division anchored in Penang harbour, the first rendezvous of the expedition. The Akbar frigate, with his excellency the Commander-in-chief, arrived on the 13th, and departed again on the 20th for Malacca. The Modeste frigate, with Lord Minto, had touched at this place, and proceeded to Malacca. Mr. Seton, governor of

[1] Thorn's Memoir (1815) of Conquest of Java (late deputy quarter-master-general at Java), p. 2.

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Prince of Wales's Island, had proceeded with his lordship. On the 21st of May, the second division, under Major-general Wetherall, arrived under convoy of his Majesty's ship Phaeton, Captain Pellew. On the 24th May they sailed for Malacca which they reached on the 1st of June. The Bengal troops, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Cornelia, Captain Edgell, had arrived five or six weeks before and were encamped along the shore; Lord Minto, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and Commodore Broughton, had also arrived.

Lord Minto heard at Malacca that General Daendels[1] had been recalled, and was succeeded by General Jansens, who, it was reported, had arrived at Batavia with a numerous body of troops from France. It was determined to proceed in squadrons to Point Sambar, and from thence to stretch across the Java sea towards Cheribon. The troops were brigaded at Malacca. The ships got under weigh on the 11th of June. The Bengal division sailed first, followed by the first division from Madras, and so on in succession, and in a few days the fleet entered the straits of Sincapore. Here they experienced occasional

[1] Thorn, p. 10.

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squalls, and the tide drifting forcibly over to the Malay coast, obliged them frequently to come to anchor. After passing through the straits, the fleet stood direct for Borneo, to profit by the land breezes which blow over that vast line of coast. They anchored at High Islands. On the morning of the 10th of July, while preparing to get under weigh, a stiff squall with rain came on, and brought a great portion of the fleet into imminent danger. It lasted a considerable time. On the 20th July they reached Point Sambar, which was the fourth rendezvous of the expedition, at the extremity of the south-west coast of Borneo. From information received at Madras, and confirmed both at Penang and Malacca, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, had finally determined to attack Batavia, near which it was expected that the grand stand would be made. That their greatest force was collecting there; and strong positions were taken up at Cornelis and Buitenzorg. The Commander-in-chief had resolved to land at Chillingching. On the evening of the 3rd August, 1811, the squadron made Cape Carawang, and early next morning ran in for the mouth of Marandi river. The ships anchored during the intervals between the land and sea

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breezes. The troops landed in the afternoon, by signal, when the sea breeze set in at 2 P.M. on Sunday, 4th August, 1811. The fleet consisted of four sail of the line, fourteen frigates, seven sloops, eight Honourable Company's cruisers, fifty-seven transports and several gun-boats, amounting in all to one hundred sail of ships, under Rear-admiral Stopford, who joined at Batavia.

The army brigaded :—

The advance, under Colonel R. R. Gillespie.

Major of brigade, Captain Thorn, 25th Dragoons.

Attached to the advance, Captain Taylor, 24th Light Dragoons.

Right flank battalion, Major Miller.

Left flank battalion, Major Fraser.

Detachment 89th regiment, Major Butler.

Royal Marines, Captain Liardet.

Bengal light infantry volunteer battalion, Major Dalton.

Dismounted 22nd Light Dragoons, Lieutenant Dudley.

Governor-general's body guard, Captain Gall.

Pioneers, Captain Smithwaite. [1]

[1] Madras, the rest king's or Bengal officers.

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Horse Artillery, Captain Noble.[1]

Detachment 22nd Light Dragoons, Major Travers.

The line, commanded by Major-General Wetherall.

Right brigade, commanded by Colonel Gibbs.[2]

Major of brigade, Captain Douglas.

His Majesty's 14th regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Watson.[3]

Fifth battalion Bengal volunteers, Captain Griffiths.

His Majesty's 59th regiment, Lieut.-Colonel M'Leod.

Left brigade, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Adams.

Major of brigade, Captain Bethune.

His Majesty's 69th regiment, Lieut.-Colonel M'Leod.

Sixth battalion Bengal volunteers, Major Raban.

His Majesty's 78th regiment, Major Lindsay.

The reserve, commanded by Colonel Wood.[4]

Major of brigade, Lieutenant Williamson.[4]

[1] Madras; the rest king's or Bengal officers.

[2] Killed at New Orleans.

[3] General Sir James Watson, K.C.B.

[4] Bengal officers.

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Flank battalion, Major Yule.[1]

3rd battalion Bengal volunteers, Lieut.-Colonel Dewar.[1]

1st battalion 20th or marine regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Loveday.[1]

4th battalion Bengal volunteers, Major Grant.[1]

Royal Artillery and Bengal Artillery, Major Caldwell.[1]

Madras Engineers, Lieut.-Colonel Mackenzie.[2]

Lieut.-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, Commander-in-Chief.

Adjutant-General, Colonel Agnew.[2]

Deputy Adjutant-General, Colonel Agnew.[2]

Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Carroll.

Quarter-Master General, Colonel Eden.

Deputy Quarter-Master General, Major Burslem.

Assistant Quarter-Master General, Lieutenant Hanson.

Assistant Quarter-Master General, Lieutenant Wetherall.[3]

Attached to Quarter-Master General's Department, Lieutenant Bayley.

[1] Bengal officers. [2] Madras officers.

[3] Major-general C. A. Wetherall, C.B.K.H., deputy adjutant-general of the army.

Attached to Quarter-Master General's Department, Lieutenant Dalcairns.

Major Farquhar,[1] in charge of guides and Intelligence department.

Aide-de-camp, Captain Dickson.

Aide-de-camp, Captain Knatchbull.

Aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Blakiston.[1]

Aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Wetherall,[2] to the Major-General.

Major Campbell,[3] Commissary General.

Captain Limond,[1] Commissary of Stores.

Deputy Paymaster-General, Major Johnson.[3]

Dr. W. Hunter, Superintending-Surgeon.[3]

The landing was at Chillingching, a village about ten miles to the eastward of Batavia.

General Abstract[4] *of the Army, Malacca, 4th June,* 1811.

	OFFICERS.	NATIVE OFFICERS.	N.C.O. & PRIVATES.	TOTAL.
European forces	200	—	5144	5344
Native forces	124	123	5530	5777
	324	123	10,674	11,121
Pioneers, Lascars, &c.				839
			Grand total	11,960

[1] Madras officer.

[2] Major-general C. A. Wetherall, C. B. K. H., deputy adjutant-general of the army.

[3] Bengal officers.

[4] Thorn, p. 18.

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Of the number before-mentioned about twelve hundred were sick at Malacca and about one thousand five hundred on landing at Java.

The advance under Colonel Gillespie first landed, followed by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, moved forward, and took up a position beyond the village, to gain possession of the road to Cornelis, and protect the landing of the rest of the troops.

On the 7th of August[1] the advance under Colonel Gillespie crossed the Anjole river by a bridge of boats, and by dawn were hutted near the suburbs. On the 8th August the town of Batavia was summoned. Many of the principal inhabitants had been compelled by General Jansens to quit Batavia; and those who remained readily submitted. Our troops occupied the town. On the morning of the 10th of August the advance division marched out of Batavia towards the cantonments of Weltevreeden, which they reached by day-break. The cantonments were abandoned; but a division of the Dutch army, under General Jumel, the second in command, had taken up a strong position about a mile from Weltevreeden, on the road to Cornelis.

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 354.

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The enemy opened a fire of grape from four horse artillery guns; whilst the infantry, posted in two villages, kept up a brisk fire of musketry on the advancing column. The enemy's guns were answered by the British artillery with effect, and the skirmishers replied to their musketry. The enemy's left flank was turned. The villages were set in flames, and the British troops charged. The enemy broke, and were pursued till they took shelter under the guns of Cornelis. Our loss was inconsiderable, but several officers were wounded: Lieutenant Duffield, horse artillery, died of his wounds; Lieutenant Munro, his Majesty's 78th, was killed. The enemy's loss was severe. The main body of the army came up towards the close of the engagement, and took post at Weltevreeden; having secured a free communication with the town and shipping, a healthy and commodious station for the troops, and the command of the resources of the country. In the arsenal at Weltevreeden three hundred guns were found, besides great quantities of ammunition and military stores.

"Preparations were immediately made for an attack upon Cornelis,[1] which General Jansens

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 356.

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expected to be able to maintain against all assaults, until the rainy season should set in, and sickness should compel the English to retire. His post was an entrenched camp between two rivers, the Slokan on the east, and the river of Batavia on the west. The latter was unfordable, and the banks were steep and overrun with jungle; the former was more practicable, but it was defended by powerful batteries and redoubts, one of which was on the near side of the river, for the protection of the only bridge that had been left standing. The space between the rivers in front, about six hundred yards, was guarded by strong entrenchments and redoubts, and was difficult of access from the ruggedness of the ground. A like space in the rear of the works was still more strongly fortified. The whole circumference of the lines extended nearly five miles, and was defended by two hundred and eighty pieces of cannon."

The battering train having been landed, and batteries constructed, the army broke ground on the night of the 20th of August. The place was now to be carried by storm. The principal attack was to be made on the redoubt on this side of the Slokan, and the bridge by which the river

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was crossed. Colonel Gillespie[1] commanded the assault, having the infantry of the advance, and a part of the right brigade of the line commanded by Colonel Gibbs. Two other attacks were to be made upon the enemy's lines; one, under Lieut.-Colonel Macleod, against the principal redoubt in the angle of the enemy's front and left; and the other, under Major Yule,[2] upon the bridge leading to the rear. Whilst the main body of the army threatened the front.

The assault took place on the *night* of the 26th of August, when the Colonel Gillespie's column marched. The head of the column approached near the works towards morning. The rear division had fallen behind, and the colonel made a short halt; but as it was impossible to remain unobserved after *day-break*, he determined to make the assault at once. The morning

[1] Major-general Sir R. R. Gillespie, killed on the 31st of October, 1814, at Kalunga, in Nepaul. He had some dismounted dragoons, the body guard, and a body of marines; besides the grenadier, and light and rifle companies, of the 14th, 59th, 69th, and 78th regiments, and grenadiers of 5th and 6th volunteers, Madras pioneers.

[2] Grenadiers of the 20th native infantry, two companies 69th foot; flank battalion of reserve, and a troop of 22nd dragoons.

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dawn showed the enemy's *videttes* at hand, and the column was challenged. The men, as commanded, reserving their fire, rushed forward with the bayonet; and the picquets were destroyed, and the advance redoubt was carried almost as soon as the alarm was given. The 78th carried the bridge over the Slokan. The passage effected, Colonel Gillespie turned to the left, stormed a second redoubt within the lines; and carried it at the point of the bayonet. Each of these redoubts mounted twenty eighteen-pounders, besides several twenty-four and thirty-two-pounders.

Colonel Gibbs was guided to the scene of action by the cannonade, and having crossed the Slokan, the grenadiers of the 14th, 59th, and 69th regiments moved against a redoubt on the right, which they carried with the bayonet in the most gallant style. Just when in possession of the redoubt, a powder magazine attached to it exploded and destroyed many, both defenders and assaillants.[1] The remaining redoubts to the right and left were stormed. An active cannonade had been maintained on the front, where the enemy

[1] Blew up the grenadier companies of his majesty's 14th foot. It was fired by one of the enemy's officers, who perished in the explosion.

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had erroneously expected the main attack, and hence had refrained from reinforcing their troops on the right. The detachment under Lieut.-colonel Macleod, who led the 69th, carried the redoubt it attacked, but he was unfortunately killed. The success of the assault on the right soon opened a free access to the entrenchment, and the British entered Cornelis in every direction.

When most of the redoubts had been stormed, and daylight rendered objects distinct, the enemy's reserve, composed of several battalions, with twenty pieces of horse artillery, besides heavy guns, and a large body of cavalry, was seen drawn up on the plain in front of the barracks, and lesser fort of Cornelis, the guns of which commanded the approach. His majesty's 59th gallantly dispersed the enemy's troops, and captured the fort. The dragoons and horse artillery coming up, Colonel Gillespie placed himself at their head, and pursued the fugitives for ten miles, cutting off great numbers, and completing the disorganization of their army. Six thousand prisoners were taken, mostly European troops, including a regiment of Voltigeurs recently arrived from France. The loss of the enemy was very considerable. In the previous operations, and in the

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assault of Cornelis, the killed and wounded amounted to nearly nine hundred,[1] of whom eighty-five were officers.

After[2] the annihilation of his army, General Jansens, with a small body of horse, retired to the eastern districts of Java. A squadron of frigates, with the marines, and a Bengal battalion under Colonel Wood, was immediately dispatched to Cheribon, and arrived there two days after General Jansens had passed. The place was immediately surrendered. Another expedition occupied the island of Madura, off the north-east extremity of Java. On the 5th September, Sir S. Auchmuty proceeded against General Jansens, who had assembled a native force, chiefly of horse, at Jatu, about six miles from Samarang. He landed at Samarang on the 13th: the town was abandoned. On the 16th, he came in sight of the enemy, about eight thousand strong, principally natives, with twenty guns drawn up on some high and rugged hills. Sir S. Auchmuty had about one thousand men, con-

[1] Thorn, p. 69, gives seven hundred and thirty-six Europeans, and one hundred and fifty-three natives (eight hundred and eighty-nine); besides seventy-three seamen and marines.

[2] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 362.

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sisting of his majesty's 14th and 78th regiments, and grenadier company third volunteer battalion, and details of artillery and pioneers, with six field pieces. Our troops advanced, and ascended the heights; when the enemy retreated in confusion, and being chiefly cavalry, easily outstripped pursuit. This was the last effort made by General Jansens. He proposed to treat for a capitulation. A cessation of arms for twenty-four hours was allowed him; and, after some hesitation on the part of General Jansens, a treaty was signed. By this, it was stipulated that Java and its dependencies should be surrendered to Great Britain; that all the military should be prisoners of war; and that the British governor should be left unfettered in regard to the future administration of the island, the guarantee of the public debt, and the liquidation of the paper money. Jansens was governor of the Cape of Good Hope in 1806, when taken by Sir D. Baird. Napoleon said, when he took leave to go to Java (1811),—"Souvenez-vous, monsieur, qu'un général Francois ne se laisse pas prendre une seconde fois." He had little reason to look for much favourable consideration on his return to France.[1]

[1] Wilson, p. 364.

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The reduction of Java left the eastern seas without an enemy, and the merchant vessels of Great Britain and British India were at liberty to trade in those seas without the fear of plunder. It is said that Sir Edward Pellew[1] had, in 1807, urgently pressed Sir George Barlow to sanction an expedition against the island, for the reduction of which he required no more than one thousand Europeans, and as many native troops, in addition to the resources of the vessels under his command. The government adopted the economical policy, which was the order of the day. Sir E. Pellew, with a squadron of two line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and four sloops, sailed in October, 1807, for Gresik, a harbour on the east coast of Java, where it was known that several Dutch vessels of war were laid up. He there burnt three line-of-battle ships and an Indiaman, and destroyed the fort and batteries. The route which the fleet took in 1811 was recommended by Mr. Raffles, upon the authority of Captain Greigh, who had surveyed it. "Had not the presence of the Governor-general decided

[1] Wilson, p 352.—"The island of Java had for some time been almost lost sight of amid the convulsive revolutions which had shaken the parent country."

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the question," (Mr. Wilson observes,) "we have his own testimony that the enterprise must have been suspended until the following year."[1] Then the Dutch would have rendered their works much stronger.

Medals[2] were bestowed upon the king's and Company's officers who had distinguished themselves in the expedition, and Lord Minto was raised to the dignity of Earl of Minto. After the reduction of Java, the government of the island was conferred upon Mr. Raffles, with the rank of lieutenant-governor of Java and its dependencies; and the command of the troops left on the island was given to Colonel Gillespie. Some of the native chiefs manifested a hostile disposition. Among these chiefs, one of the most powerful was the sultan of Yodtryakaita,[3] who declared open war against the British, and called upon his countrymen to join him for their expulsion. Colonel Gillespie conducted a force against his capital, and carried it by storm. The sultan was taken prisoner and exiled to Penang,

[1] Parliamentary Debates, 10th January, 1812.

[2] Wilson, p. 364.

[3] Usually pronounced Jockjokarta. Stormed on the 20th June, 1812.

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and his son placed on the throne. The capture of Yodtryakaita, a place of great extent and some strength, defended by one hundred thousand troops, who, although defective in arms and discipline, were not wanting in intrepidity and fierceness. An expedition had before been sent against the sultan of Palembang, a state on the north-east coast of Sumatra. The sultan refused to enter into any engagements with the British, as he had done to the Dutch, and denied that such engagements had ever existed, and that the Dutch factory had been abandoned before the reduction of Java. The sultan had razed the Dutch fort and factory, and caused the members of the factory to be murdered. A force was sent, in March 1812, against the sultan, under Colonel Gillespie. The sultan fled. The colonel, on the 25th of April, landed a small party, and proceeded to the town, ascertained the truth of the above statement, and placed the sultan's brother on the throne. On the 18th of May, Colonel Gillespie, leaving the prince one hundred men for his defence, returned to Java, taking possession of Banca on his way.

The two French frigates,[1] La Nymphe and La

[1] Thorn, p. 90.

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Medusa, which were blockaded in Sourabaya harbour, effected their escape the moment they received the news of the destruction of their army. Until the capitulation of the island, the navy were engaged in various operations, and were not able to detach ships to a distance along the coast.

The prize-money collected on account of the sale of prize-property captured on the island of Java, was distributed according to the rules which regulated prize-money in the navy in those days, it being a joint naval and military expedition.

Mutiny at Java in 1815.—In the end of 1815, several native officers, non-commissioned officers and sepoys, of the Bengal light infantry battalion, were tried for mutiny, in having, at Djocjocarta (Java), in October 1815, conspired with other native officers, &c., and for having been present at mutinous meetings, whereat it was determined to murder their European officers, and subvert the legal authorities of the state, and not reporting the existence of such meeting or meetings during the month of October 1815, to their immediate commanding officer. Some were sentenced to suffer death.[1] It ap-

[1] G. O. C. C., Bengal, 13th and 18th May, 13th June, and 21st September, 1816.—Hough's "Practice of Court Martial" (1825), p 77.

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pears that in the Bengal G. O. C. C., 12th of December, 1810, it is stated, that "After the service shall be over, they (the volunteers) will be permitted to return to the battalions from which they were received, or to join any other corps to which they may give the preference.[1]" These men had been volunteers since December 1810, and had been absent from India on foreign service above four and a-half years, while the usual period of absence is about three years. No intimation was given to these men that their services would be required beyond three years, whereas intimation ought to have been given to them before the expiration of the three years.

Java given up in 1816.—By a convention[2] with the United Netherlands, dated 13th of August, 1814; the British government, engaged to restore all the colonies, with exception of the Cape of Good Hope and some places in the West Indies. Java was among the cessions. Wilson says, "The more pressing calls at home upon the attention of the Batavian government, delayed its availing itself immediately of the generosity of its ally;[3]

[1] Henley's "Bengal Military Regulations," p. 243.

[2] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 370.

[3] It has been stated, that Great Britain was called upon

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and Java did not re-assume the character of a Dutch colony until the end of 1816, five years after it had been conquered by the armament from Bengal."

It has been stated that the minister of the day did not, even open the despatches of Sir T. S. Raffles, nor those of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, giving glowing accounts of the Island of Java. In 1814, Wilson[1] states the revenue to have amounted to rupees 5,368,065 (£536,806). Java now yields about 60,000 tons of sugar, and the same amount of coffee, besides a considerable quantity of indigo. These articles are a government monopoly and sold to a Dutch company. The produce chiefly goes to Holland.

Debt of India in 1813-14.—The amount of the debt of India was £27,000,000.[2] The interest £1,636,000, a permanent diminution of £592,000 annual interest. But taking the sicca rupee at two shillings, the debt would be only £23,183,000, and the interest only £1,402,287.

Recall of Lord Minto.—Wilson states, that on

to make the sacrifice, having gained so much by the war.—1st November, 1814, Congress at Vienna.

[1] Wilson, p. 369.—(*Note* 1.)

[2] Mill, vol. vii. p. 486.—According to parliamentary accounts, of two shillings and sixpence the sicca rupees.

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the change of ministry in November, 1811, circumstances[1] had imposed upon the ministers the duty of conferring the office of government on the Earl of Moira. Lord Moira had been engaged in the endeavour to form a ministry. This was to be his reward. "A resolution was accordingly moved by the chairman (of the Court of Directors), under the dictation, no doubt, of the Board of Control, that Lord Minto should be recalled. No reason for the measure was assigned; but it was adopted in opposition to the tenor of a letter received from Lord Minto's friends, expressing his wish to be relieved in January, 1814. This letter was assigned as the reason for the immediate appointment of Earl Moira; but, as objected by one of the opponents of the arrangement, Mr. Charles Grant, the plea was delusive, as no one could pretend to assign it as a sufficient reason for proceeding to the choice of a governor-general in November, 1811, whose presence at Fort William could only be necessary in January, 1814." Lord Minto arrived in Calcutta as governor-general in July, 1807, so that in January, 1814, he would have been in office about the usual period.[2] "On

[1] Mill, vol. vii. p. 490, the assassination of Mr. Perceval.

[2] Warren Hastings, was from 1772 to 1785 (February);

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the same occasion it was determined to supersede Sir George Nugent, as commander-in-chief, Lord Moira uniting both the civil and supreme authority; and not only to rescind the conditional appointment of Sir G. Barlow as governor-general, but to remove him from the government of Fort St. George. These several measures were made the subject of strong protests by several leading members of the Direction; but the objections were over-ruled by the predominating spirit of ministerial obligations, and the change took place. Earl Moira was appointed governor-general of India and commander-in-chief;[1] and General Abercrombie, the commander of the forces at Fort St. George, was nominated for a time go-

Lord Cornwallis, 1786 to 1793; Marquis Wellesley, 1798 to 1805.

[1] Sir G. Nugent assumed the command as commander-in-chief, 14th January, 1812, and quitted command 4th October, 1813, the day the Earl of Moira assumed command On the arrival of Lord Moira, Sir G. Nugent assumed the provincial command, agreeably to the court's resolution of November 18th, 1812. In the case of Marquis Cornwallis, who assumed the command July 30th, 1805 (died 5th October, 1805), Lord Lake had held the command from the death of Lord Cornwallis, in his capacity of provincial commander-in-chief.—(Dodwell and Mill's Army List, 1760 to 1837.) Lord Lake sent in his resignation, which does not appear to have been accepted.

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vernor of Madras. Lord Minto survived but a short time his return to his native country; he died in the course of the same year. Lord Moira arrived in Calcutta, and assumed his offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief on the 4th of October, 1813.

The renewal of the charter in 1814. The charter of 1793 expired[1] on the 10th April, 1814. Notice was given on the 4th March, 1811, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who moved, that the Speaker of the House of Commons should signify the same in writing to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, that the Company's commercial privileges would cease and determine on the date above specified. On the 22nd February, 1813, a petition was presented to the House of Commons,[2] in which the Company prayed for the renewal of the privileges granted in 1793.

[1] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 497. [2] Wilson, vol. vii. p. 509.

END OF VOL. I.

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POLITICAL AND MILITARY

EVENTS

IN BRITISH INDIA.

FROM THE YEARS 1756 TO 1849.

BY

MAJOR WILLIAM HOUGH,

LATE A DEPUTY JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, BENGAL ARMY;

AUTHOR OF SEVERAL WORKS ON MILITARY LAW, OF "THE EXPEDITION TO CABOOL UNDER LORD KEANE;" AND THE "RETREAT OF THE CABOOL FORCE, IN 1842;" ETC., ETC.

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POLITICAL

AND

MILITARY EVENTS IN INDIA

1756—1849.

CHAPTER I.

THE GORKHA WAR, 1814—16.

THE Gorkha war.—1814-16. The territories of Nepal[1] extended for a distance of more than seven hundred miles along the northern frontier of the British possessions. In the year 1765, the valley of Nepal was partitioned among the three Hindoo rajas of Khatmandu, Lalita-patan, and Bhatgaon.[2]

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 4.

[2] Mill, vol. iii. p. 336, (1763) mentions that Meer Cassim, nabob of Bengal set out on an expedition against the kingdom of Nepal. An Armenian commanded the expedition and a party was sent up with boxes containing muskets.

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"In 1767, a military force under Major Kinloch drove the Gorkhas out of the province, and, following them into the hills, took possession of Makwanpur. When a good understanding with the court of Khatmandu was restored, Mr. Hastings gave up that part of Makwanpur which was situated in the hills, but retained the low lands on the Bettia frontier as a compensation for the cost of the military expedition, which the Bengal government had been compelled, in self-defence, to undertake."[1]

Gorkha is the name of the town situate in the district of the same name, whence the Gorkhas, the conquerors of the country, came. In 1792, the Gorkhas sent an army against Lhassa, and compelled the Lamas to pay tribute to the Brahminical ruler of Nepal. The Emperor of China, incensed by the indignity offered to a religion of which he is the secular head, dispatched a large army to Nepal, which defeated the raja's

The object was to arm these persons. The boxes were said to contain presents. One of the party got intoxicated and the plot was discovered. The plan was to seize on Khatmandu. In 1765 the raja of Bettia became a subject of the British government. The raja of Makwanpur was conquered by the Gorkhas shortly before that date.

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 13.

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troops, and advanced within a few miles of Khatmandu. The raja agreed to pay a yearly tribute. They had for many years been making encroachments on the territories of our allies, subject to the presidency of Bengal. Their encroachments commenced as far back as 1787, and were persisted in, with intervals, until 1813.

In 1804, the Nepalese had made claims on the districts of Sheoraj and Bhotwal, within our ceded provinces. The Marquis Wellesley did not think it proper, on the eve of his leaving India, to enter upon a war with these people. Sir George Barlow offered, in 1805, to relinquish the Company's claims to Sheoraj, if they would give up Bhotwal.[1] In 1809, Lord Minto remonstrated against the retention of Bhotwal. The mutiny at Madras, and the expeditions to the French and Dutch islands, prevented, at the time, military proceedings against the raja of Nepal. In 1811, they made fresh encroachments on Gorakhpur. The government were reluctant to go to war. The Nepal raja considered this as a sign of the want of power in the Indian government. On the 29th May, 1814, the Nepalese attacked our police on the frontier. Hostilities now became evident.

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 11.

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An army was appointed to take the field, consisting of several divisions.

The first division under Major-general D. Ochterlony, consisting of sixty thousand men, was destined to attack the Gorkha positions at the western extremity of their line. The second division, under Major-general Gillespie, consisting of three thousand five hundred men, was to occupy the Dehra Dhoon, and besiege Jytak. The third division, under Major-general J. S. Wood, consisting of four thousand five hundred men, was to march from the Gorakhpur frontier, through Bhotwal and Sheoraj, to Palpa. The fourth division, under Major-general Marley, was nearly eight thousand strong. The total force, twenty-two thousand men. The force was to march through the valley of Mukwanpoor to Khatmandu. Local corps were stationed on the British frontier. On the south-east frontier, Captain Latter was posted with the Rungpoor local battalion, and a battalion of regular native infantry. The whole force, including irregulars, amounted to more than thirty thousand men, and sixty guns. It was said the Gorkhas could muster twelve thousand regular troops.

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 22.

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Major-general Gillespie's division proceeded, *via* the Timli Pass on the 19th October, 1814, into the valley of the Dhoon. On the 22nd, Lieutenant-colonel Mawby, with the main body, occupied the town of Dehra.

The Gorkhas fell back to Kalanga. Lieutenant-colonel Mawby marched upon that fort, summoned the garrison, who returned an answer of defiance. General Gillespie joined the advance on the 26th, with the remainder of his force. Heavy guns were brought up, but no proper breach was made, though preparations were made to carry the fort by storm. The assault took place on the 31st October. There were four columns of attack and a reserve. Three of the columns having a detour to make, never heard the signal gun, and had not reached their destinations. The enemy made a sortie, which was repelled. The general thinking our troops might follow them into the fort, ordered the advance of the troops on that side. "The men could not scale the wall, as the ladders could not be fixed, owing to the enemy's fire. The attempt to force the outwork and carry the gate failed. General Gillespie placed himself at the head of three fresh companies, and of one hundred of the 8th dismounted dragoons. The

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53rd hung back. The general called on the men to follow him, when he was shot through the heart. The fall of the general completed the discouragement of the men; and a retreat was ordered." One of the other columns arrived in time to cover the retreat. Colonel Mawby,[1] on whom the command devolved, returned to Dehra, and there waited the arrival of a battering-train from Delhi.

The train having arrived, the army[2] advanced again on the 25th November against Kalanga. A battery of eighteen-pounders made a practicable breach by noon on the 27th. The troops[3] moved with their muskets *unloaded!* The assault failed. Within the breach there was a precipitous descent of about fourteen feet, at the foot of which stood a part of the garrison armed with spears, &c., supported by another portion with matchlocks and various missiles. There was not a proper breach.[4] The storming party was recalled. The loss was:—

[1] Of the 53rd;—was disliked by his men.

[2] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 27.

[3] Two companies fifty-third and six companies of native infantry, covered by the light infantry of the fifty-third and supported by the rest of the troops.

[4] The men remained two hours under fire near the breach.

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	OFFICERS.	PRIVATES.
Killed . .	4 . .	33
Wounded .	7 .	636
	11	669
	TOTAL . . .	680

It appeared afterwards that the enemy procured the water for the garrison at some distance outside. No attempt was made to prevent the enemy getting the water by stationing parties to cut it off. The signals made by guns in the hills were useless, as they could not be properly heard, as no one knew where the sound came from. Recourse was now had to a bombardment. The fortress was little more than an open enclosure within stone walls, and afforded no shelter to the besieged, and soon became untenable. In the course of three days the stench from the unburied bodies became intolerable; the commandant abandoned the place, with seventy survivors out of the six hundred who had composed the garrison. Balbhadra Sing effected his escape unperceived, and joined three hundred fresh troops which had been sent to his relief. The party was pursued by Major Ludlow, who, by great activity, came upon them suddenly on the night of the 1st December, 1814. After

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a smart action the Gorkhas were routed. They disappeared among the recesses of the mountains, and our troops returned to camp. The fort of Kalanga was demolished.[1]

The result of the above checks and the heavy loss suffered, raised the spirits of the Gorkhas, and induced us to make additions to the force to carry on operations against Nepal — three regiments of native infantry of two battalions each were ordered to be raised,[2] and eight grenadier battalions were formed of eight companies each, and their places were supplied by supplementary grenadier companies being raised; so that an additional force of about twelve thousand men were added to the Bengal army; the grenadier battalions being attached to the different divisions of the army in the field.

The division under Colonel Mawby after the capture of Kalanga,[3] was directed to march to the westward, into the valley of Karda, so as to effect a co-operation with the division under Colonel Ochterlony. On the 19th December the division was within seven miles of Nahan,

[1] See Nepal Papers, pp. 460, 490, for official reports.
[2] G. O. G. Gen. C. 16th Dec. 1814.
[3] Wilson, p. 31.

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the capital of Sirmor. The Gorkha army in that quarter was commanded by Ranjor Sing Thapa the son of Amar Sing, whose head-quarters were at Jytak, a fort on the top of a mountain, five thousand feet above the sea. On the 20th December the force was joined by Major-general Martindell. He occupied Nahan, and moved to the foot of the range, on the highest peak of which stood the fort of Jytak, the approach to which was defended by stockades at various heights. It appeared that the garrison obtained their supply of water from wells situated outside the fort and some distance below it. Majors Richards[1] and Ludlow,[2] had minutely reconnoitred the position, and ascertained the above fact. The general resolved to attempt to cut off the supply of water, and to destroy the strongly stockaded post to the west of the fort, erected for the defence of the wells. Major Ludlow's party[3] was to move against the post on the left and nearest side; the other, under Major Richards[4]

[1] Lieutenant-general Sir W. Richards, K.C.B.

[2] A distinguished officer who died many years ago.

[3] Grenadier company's fifty-third foot, three companies light infantry battalion and nine companies sixth native infantry, and one of pioneers, (nine hundred men).

[4] First battalion thirteenth native infantry light companies fifty-third foot, seventh, twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh

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to make a detour, and attack the stockade in the rear. The columns were overpowered by a superior force, and compelled to retreat. Major Richards left camp at midnight: he had sixteen miles to march by paths rarely admitting two men abreast. He reached the foot of the hills by 8 A.M., and having gained the summit, advanced within three hundred yards of the fort of Jytak. The enemy were engaged with the force under Major Ludlow. He marched an hour later, having a much shorter distance to go, and earlier came into contact with the enemy: he had driven back their picquets at 3 A.M. The column advanced to the summit of a hill, and dislodged a small Gorkha post. They advanced against a stockade with only part of the force, and failed. The troops in India had not been accustomed to warfare in a mountainous country. With narrow paths and steep ascents troops move slowly. The Gorkhas themselves always stockaded their position at every halting-ground. We afterwards adopted the plan of stockading, and a more connected form of attack. Dr. W. Darby gallantly exerted himself when

native infantry, and a company of pioneers (little above six hundred men). Nepal Papers, 504.

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not professionally engaged, with Major Richard's column. The general did not send supporting parties, as he had been advised to do: the two columns could not support each other; while the enemy detached their main body. On the *plains* they were always defeated; but in their difficult *hills* the Gorkhas are, sword in hand, good fighters, and are, also, good shots. The loss was four officers killed, and eight wounded, and four hundred and fifty-three men killed and wounded in both columns, total four hundred and sixty-five. This repulse had a most mischievous effect upon the progress of the campaign; as Major-general Martindell did not think himself competent to resume offensive measures.

General Ochterlony, further to the west was successful.[1] He was opposed to Amar Sing Thapa, the most celebrated of the Gorkha leaders. The scene of action was a rugged country. From the left bank of the southern arm of the Sutlej, rises a succession of lofty mountains. On three of the ranges, the Gorkha general had constructed the forts of Nalagerh, Ramgerh, and Malaun, stone structures, the approaches to which were defended by strong timber stockades.

[1] Wilson, p. 37.

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The general's division ascended the hills at the end of October, 1814. On the 2nd November, he arrived before the first and lowest of the mountain ridges. Here stood the fort of Nalagerh, with the outwork of Taragerh, higher up the hill, commanding the entrance into the mountain. With much labour the guns[1] were raised to an elevation to breach the walls. By the 4th, batteries were opened, and on the 6th the enemy surrendered Taragerh. Towering far above the pass of Nalagerh, and at an elevation of four thousand six hundred feet above the sea, appeared the mountain on which stood the fort of Ramgerh. Amar Sing, on hearing of Ochterlony's advance, marched from Arki with three thousand regular troops towards Ramgerh. He took up a position and stockaded it. Ochterlony wisely resolved not to make an attack in *front*. He determined to turn the enemy's left, and assail their position from the rear. He moved to the heights of Nahan, seven miles north-east from Ramgerh. He erected a battery, which was found to be too distant. Lieutenant Lawtie, engineers, with a small party, in reconnoitring for a nearer position was surrounded. A rein-

[1] Eighteen-pounders.

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forcement sent from camp, had one officer killed, and seventy sepoys killed and wounded, greatly owing to the misconduct of the men. Hearing of the second failure at Kalanga, Ochterlony applied for reinforcements, and suspended offensive operations. In the meantime, roads were made, and the organisation of the irregular levies of the adherents to the British cause went on; when (26th December) the force being joined by the 2nd battalion 7th native infantry, with a train of field artillery, and by a Sikh levy, General Ochterlony resumed active operations.

On the 27th of December, 1814, Colonel Thompson was dispatched to prosecute the plan[1] of spreading along the enemy's rear, and intercepting his communications with Arki[2] and Bilaspur, by occupying the Dibu hills, a low range on the north east of Ramgerh. A lodgment was effected. The Gorkha general made a desperate and fruitless effort to drive away the detachment. General Ochterlony, leaving a force under Brigadier Arnold to watch the enemy's movements, marched so as to place himself on the north of the last range of hills between Malaun and the

[1] Wilson, p. 41.

[2] Arki is seen on the road up to Simla.

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Sutlej. On the 6th January, 1815, he ascended the bed of the Gambhira river, and,[1] crossing the mountains on which Malaun stood, took post at Battoh, on the north bank of another mountain stream, the Gamrora, nearly opposite to the centre of the range, sending forward two thousand Hinduris, under Captain Ross,[2] to occupy the heights above Bilaspur. This movement effected his object. Amar Sing, alarmed for his communications, withdrew his main body from Ramgerh, and, leaving a garrison in the fort, concentrated his force on the ridge of Malaun. Colonel Arnold then moved round the opposite extremity of the ridge, to co-operate with General Ochterlony on its northern base; delayed by a rough country, and a heavy fall of snow, he turned the north-west extremity of the line, and received the submission of the government of Bilaspur, and possession of the fort of Ramgerh, divided only by a deep and extensive hollow from Malaun. A force, under Lieut.-Colonel Cooper, dislodged the Gorkhas from Ramgerh, and other posts which they had continued to hold to the south, and then moved to co-operate

[1] Crossed in going to Subathoo.

[2] Now Colonel R. Ross

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with the main body. These movements, and the severity of the season,[1] prevented the completion of the investment of Malaun till the 1st of April, 1815. In the meantime, the armies acting at the eastern extremity of the line of operations had been engaged with the enemy, but had made little progress.

The third division of the army, under Major General J. S. Wood, assembled at Gorakhpur early in November, 1814, but was not ready to take the field till the middle of December.[2] The destination was the district of Palpa, lying beyond Bhotwal, and accessible by a difficult mountain pass. On the 3rd of January, General Wood marched to reconnoitre the stockade of Jitpur, situated at the foot of the Majkote hills, one mile west of Bhotwal, which it would be necessary to carry. Major Comyn was sent with seven companies to turn the *left* flank of the position; the general himself proceeded with twenty-one companies to attack it in front and on the right. *He* expected, on clearing a wood through which lay the road, to come out upon an open plain at some distance from the stockade. The general and his staff unexpectedly found them-

[1] Snow fell. [2] Wilson, p. 44.

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selves within fifty paces of the stockade. The enemy opened a heavy fire, and the garrison made a sortie. The troops coming up saved the party. The main body attacked the works in front, while one company of His Majesty's 17th foot, under Captain Croker,[1] carried a hill to the right, which commanded the enemy's stockade. Instead of being *supported*, Captain Croker was recalled, and nothing was done to redeem the honour of the British arms. Major Comyn effected a passage between the stockade and Bhotwal, and approached the eminence on which the latter was situated. There appeared to be every probability of success, when the general commanded a retreat. Several officers were wounded. Lieutenant Morrison, engineers, died of his wounds. Had there been a proper advance guard and flanking parties, the general never would have got within fifty paces of the stockade without knowing that he was near the enemy. This force went into cantonments at Gorakhpur in the beginning of May: as exposure to the insalubrity of the climate in the Teeraee[2] had already affected the troops.

[1] Late Colonel Croker.

[2] Low ground near the hills.

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The chief reliance of Lord Moira[1] for the success of the entire plan of the campaign, rested upon the division which was to be directed against the Gorkha capital, Khatmandu. The troops assembled at Dinapoor, on the right bank of the Ganges, and marched towards Bettia,[2] on the 23rd of November, 1814. Major Bradshaw, commanding on the frontier of Sarun, joined by Major Roughsedge, with the Ramgerh battalion, and other troops, had proceeded previously to clear the frontier forests of the Gorkha posts. He surprised Parsuram Thapa, the governor of the district, who was encamped with four hundred men. He was surprised and routed, the thapa killed and fifty of his men, and many were drowned in the Bhagmati. Detachments under Captain Hay and Lieutenant Smith took possession of the posts of Baragerhi and Parsa, in advance of Barharwa, and the tract known as the Tirai was occupied, and annexed, by proclamation, to the British territories.[3]

The main army arrived at Pachraota, on the frontier, on the 12th of December, and the re-

[1] Wilson, p. 47.

[2] Eight or nine miles from the Saul forest.

[3] Nepal Papers, 307.

mainder of the month was spent in preliminary arrangements for ascending the hills, and waiting for the battering train. The general's instructions were to leave the heavy guns in the rear, till he had established a solid footing in advance. This delay allowed the Gorkhas to recover from the alarm caused by the defeat and death of Parsuram Thapa. The Gorkhas were on the alert. To secure the occupation of the Tirai, Major Bradshaw had stationed Captain Hay, with the head-quarters of the Champaran light infantry, at Baragerhi; Captain Blackney, with the left wing of the 2nd battalion 22nd native infantry, at Samanpur, about twenty miles on his right; and Captain Sibley, with about five hundred men, at Parsa, about the same distance on Captain Hay's left. General Marley encamped near Lautan, two miles west of Baragerhi. The outposts at Samanpur and Parsa were unsupported, and no precautions were taken to secure either position by temporary defences, although they were situated in the immediate proximity of the enemy. Both posts were attacked in force on the 1st of January, 1815. Captain Blackney was taken completely by surprise, and, with his second in command (Lieutenant Duncan), was

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slain at the first onset. The tents were set on fire, and the troops killed or dispersed, except a few kept together by Lieutenant Strettell, and conducted to Gorashan. At Parsa, Captain Sibley had suspected an approaching attack, and applied for reinforcements; four companies of the 15th native infantry were detached on the evening of the 31st of December, but they arrived only in time to cover the retreat of the fugitives. Captain Sibley and more than half his detachment were killed, and the whole of the stores, &c., taken by the enemy.

General Marley, deeming his position unsafe, made a retrogade movement to the westward to guard the depôt at Bettia, and for the security of the Sarun frontier, leaving a strong force with Major Roughsedge, at Baragerhi. The feeeling of alarm extended to Gorakhpur and Tirhut; and the approach of a Gorkha army was universally apprehended. They, however, recovered the whole of the Tirai, not immediately protected by military posts; and made various incursions into the British territories. With regard to Parsa the state of the case was as follows.[1] Parsa was close on

[1] The author passed Parsa in March, 1816, on his return from Muckwanpoor, after the peace, which was signed on the

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the bank of a deep stream on the side towards the Saul forest. There was a little mud fort on the bank, which would have contained most of the troops, but an entrenchment, connected with the fort, might easily have been made for the rest of the men. There was a six-pounder which might have been placed in the entrenchment. Instead of which they were attacked in camp, which was so close to it, that the discharges from the gun peeled off the bark of the trees. If they had been cut down, they would have had a clear open space; whereas the trees offered a protection to the enemy. There were no means adopted for ascertaining the approach of an enemy, though expected to make an attack.[1] Lieutenant Smith stated, that on the night before he warned Captain Sibley that he (Lieutenant Smith) had obtained intelligence of the expected attack to be made early next morning, but the report did not induce any precaution being taken. The force sent as a reinforcement halted when it arrived halfway, as no firing was heard. In September, 1780,

5th of that month, and he heard the account from Lieut. Smith, the second in command.

[1] Natives get up into trees to watch for tigers. A forest affords a good opportunity for look-out men.

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Sir H. Munro halted his army on its march to the relief of the unfortunate Colonel Baillie at Perambaucum, because the firing he had heard had ceased. It was then that the explosion of Baillie's tumbrils told of the desperate position which demanded a quick advance.[1]

Great efforts were made to add to the strength of General Marley's force.[2] His Majesty's 14th and 17th foot, and other troops, were at once dispatched to the frontier, raising the amount of the division to thirteen thousand men. The general hesitated to move; and after spending the month of January in inactivity, suddenly quitted his camp.[3] Colonel Dick assumed the command, until the arrival of Major-general George Wood, towards the end of February.

The Gorkhas entrapped.—Lieutenant Pickersgill,[4] Assistant Quarter-master General, was out surveying on the 20th of February, 1815, with a small escort, and came unexpectedly upon a party of four hundred Gorkhas. By skilfully pretending to retreat, he drew the party from the cover

[1] Recollections in military history are useful.

[2] Wilson, p. 50.

[3] He left a note for the assistant adjutant-general desiring him to make the reports to Colonel Dick.

[4] The author's brother officer.

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of the forest towards camp. He sent information to camp. Colonel Dick sent one hundred irregular horse, and followed with the picquets. The cavalry and a number of mounted officers from camp charged the Gorkhas, when the commander, a chief of some note, and one hundred of his men were killed; fifty were taken, the rest fled, and many were drowned in crossing a rivulet.[1] "This affair struck so much terror into the Nepalese, that they hastily fell back from their forward positions, and again abandoned the Tirai." The road to Muckwanpoor was now open. But General Wood pleaded the advanced season of the year as an excuse for confining his operations to the plains; and having ascertained that the Gorkhas had evacuated the low lands (Tirai), the army was broken up and cantoned along the frontier, from the Gandak to the Kusi.[2] It is stated (after the 20th of February, 1815), that "A month remained for military operations before the unhealthy season commenced."

Sir D. Ochterlony[3] in the last campaign marched

[1] While the zeal of the officers who mounted and went from camp, was acknowledged, a D. O. informed them that officers should not leave camp without their corps.

[2] Nepal Papers, 560.

[3] Wilson, p. 69. The author was with Ochterlony's left column.

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through the forest on the 12th of February, 1816. The treaty was signed at Muckwanpoor on the 5th of March, 1816, when the Assistant Adjutant-general, Captain Watson,[1] reported that half the European officers were on the sick list next day. The troops got back to Bettia on the 18th of March, when there was much sickness. Muckwanpoor is in a direct line twenty-five, but by the road about fifty miles of very difficult country to Khatmandu. This will show that General Dick could not advance with safety; for neither Colonel Ochterlony nor Colonel Nicolls had succeeded at Malown, or at Almora. General Marley's force, as compared with that employed in February, 1816, was inferior to Sir D. Ochterlony's army. The success of the operations in April (Almora) and May (Malown) 1815, gave us the means of further success; and not least, a good knowledge of the Gorkhas and their country.

We in 1816 had no opposition of any consequence; the pass by which Ochterlony advanced was turned. He had two strong brigades; the right and left columns made a *detour* to attack the enemy in flank, while Ochterlony advanced by the direct route. Now, neither in Marley's case,

[1] Lieutenant-colonel Watson died in 1851.

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nor in that of Wood was there anything but a *direct* attack proposed. The author went with the left column,[1] and knows that route; all the troops (except the right column which never joined Sir David,) returned by the route by which Sir David advanced. *Three thousand men could have defended the pass against the whole of the troops employed in* 1815; and the force in 1816, was better equipped and organised. The troops had temporary cantonments in the rains of 1815, at Nauthpoor (near the Kusi river) at Ramnuggur, at Bhugwanpoor, and at Goruckpoor.[2] Many officers went away sick. There were hundreds of sepoys sent away sick from Nauthpoor, the most sickly of all the above cantonments.

The boundary of our frontier on the east of the river Kusi was protected from insult by a force under Major Latter, and the Gorkhas were driven from all their positions: occupation had been taken of the province of Morang, and an alliance had been formed with a hill chief, the raja of Sikim,[3] a small state east of Nepal. His country is situated in the hills near Darjeeling,

[1] Adjutant of the 8th grenadier battalion.

[2] Wilson, p. 52.

[3] Deposed in 1851 for his imprisonment, &c. of Dr. Campbell, the political agent at Darjeeling.

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which has been a sanitarium for many years. While we defended him from the vengeance of the raja of Nepal, we secured an ally through whose country a route lies towards Khatmandu.

The province of Kumaon. A force[1] consisting of three battalions of native infantry, four six-pounders, two twelve-pounders, and four mortars, besides some irregular troops under Colonel Gardner and Captain Hearsay, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Jasper Nicolls, his Majesty's 14th regiment, and Quarter-Master General of his Majesty's forces, was formed for service in the province of Kumaon. Colonel Gardner had been sent in advance in February 1815. Colonel Nicolls joined the troops on the 8th April before Almora. On the 25th a general attack was made on the stockaded defences of the hill of Sitauli, in front of Almora. Having established themselves in the town, the troops on the 26th commenced operations against the fort and opened a fire from the mortars. The enemy submitted; and the fort of Almora, with the provinces of Kumaon and Gerhwal, were ceded to the British. Our loss was one officer

[1] Wilson, p. 54.

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killed, and one hundred and eighty men killed and wounded.

General Martindell[1] had made little progress in his operations. He was encamped before the fort of Jytak. Heavy ordnance had been carried up the mountain with prodigious labour and protracted delay.[2] On the 20th March, a battery levelled one of the stockades to the ground. No attempt was made to advance batteries sufficiently near to destroy the other stockades. The result of a blockade was tried; and the garrison would probably have yielded under the pressure of famine, had not its fall been accelerated by the brilliant results of General Ochterlony's contest with Amar Sing.

The heights of Malaun. Having reduced all the detached Gorkha posts, and confined them to the heights of Malaun, General Ochterlony determined to employ his whole force against the enemy's defences. The Gorkha posts extended along the summit of the Malaun range, having the fort of Malaun on the extreme right,

[1] Wilson, p. 56.

[2] Getting up eighteen-pounders was a difficult and arduous undertaking, till then but little known in warfare.

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that of Surajgerh on the extreme left. Most of the intermediate peaks being occupied and stockaded. The stockades were strongest in the vicinity of Malaun; and directly below the fort, on the slope of the hill, lay the Gorkha cantonments, similarly protected. On the right of Malaun, upon an eminence of somewhat less altitude, and separated from it by deep ravines, was situated the fort of Ratangerh, which had been occupied. The fort of Surajgerh was observed by a detachment under Captain Stewart, stockaded upon a contiguous elevation. Upon the top of the ridge there were two assailable points, Ryla and Deonthal, the latter more to the right and nearer to Malaun. Major Innes, on the 14th, established himself in position near Ryla. Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, and Major Lawrie moved in the direction of Deonthal, on the 15th of May, and carried the post. Colonel Thompson, leaving Major Lawrie at Deonthal, advanced to besiege a stockade within battering distance of Malaun. The attack upon the cantonments near Malaun was repulsed by the Gorkhas. The British position at Deonthal was stockaded on the 15th. Amar Sing made a desperate effort to drive the British down the

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hill, anticipating the fall of Malaun from their near approach, and placed the whole of his force under Bhakti Sing Thapa, whilst he supported the attack in person. The enemy advanced on the 16th so as to turn both flanks. The Gorkhas advanced with undaunted courage up to the very muzzles of the guns, and endeavoured to strike down our men over their bayonets.[1] The action had lasted two hours, when reinforcements from the post of Ryla having joined, the spirit of the enemy began to fail, while that of the sepoys rose with the continuance of successful resistance. Colonel Thompson ordered a charge with the bayonet by the sepoys and the irregulars to fall on, sword in hand. Major Lawrie led the charge. The Gorkhas gave way and fled, leaving their brave commander dead on the field. Amar Sing retired into the fort.

On the above occasion all the men serving our two field pieces were either killed or wounded, except three privates, by whom, and by Lieutenant Cartwright, of the artillery, Lieutenant Armstrong, of the pioneers, and Lieutenant Hutchinson, of the engineers, alone they were at last served. Unable longer to endure the hardships of the

[1] Wilson, p. 61.

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blockade, and seeing no prospect of relief, and unsuccessful in their endeavours to prevail on Amar Sing to surrender, the main body quitted Malaun without arms, and gave themselves up to the nearest British post. The guns were opened upon the fort on the 10th May; on the morning of the 11th, Amar Sing sent his son to intimate his desire to negotiate; and a convention[1] was concluded, by which he consented to give up all the possessions of the Gorkhas on the west of the Jumna, and to send orders for the evacuation of Gerhwal. Amar Sing, with the garrison of Malaun, Ranjor Sing, with part of that of Jytak, and all members of the Thapa family, were allowed to return to Nepal with their private property and military equipments. The men were left the choice of departing for Nepal, or taking service with the British; and, most of them having preferred the latter alternative, they were formed into battalions for duty in the hills, for which they were peculiarly fit.[2] The government of Nepal sued for peace. The

[1] Wilson, p. 63.

[2] Two Nusseree battalions and one Simoor corps were raised—the Bengal sixty-sixth native infantry is also a Gorkha corps.

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conditions the Governor-general proposed, were, 1st. The relinquishment of all claims on the hill rajas,[1] west of the Kali river; 2nd. The cession of the whole of the Tirai, or low lands, at the foot of the hills along the Gorkha frontier; 3rd. The restoration to the Sikim raja of all territory wrested from him, with the cession of two stockaded forts; and, 4th. The admission of a resident at Khatmandu. The first and third conditions were submitted to, and the mission of a resident reluctantly acquiesced in; but the cession of the Tirai[2] was a demand which the court of Nepal pertinaciously resisted." The negotiations began in May, and were protracted through the rainy season. On the 2nd December, 1815, the treaty was duly executed; the Commissioners promising its ratification under the red seal, the signet of the raja of Nepal, should be delivered in fifteen days. The treaty was ratified by the Governor-general in council on the 9th December; but the promised ratification from Khatmandu failed to make its appearance. Amar Sing Thapa was at

[1] The rajas of Kahlur, Hindur, Sirmoor, Bisahar, Deonthal Bagul, Jubal, and Gerhwal. Prinsep, 177.

[2] Wilson says, p. 64, extends from the river Tista east to the Ganges on the west, about twenty miles broad and about five hundred in length.

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the head of the war-party, which prevailed in the councils of Nepal. It was evident that their policy was now to defer the definite conclusion of the treaty, until the season should be too far advanced for hostilities to be resumed with any effect.

Upon the abandonment of the provinces west of the Kali by the Gorkhas, our regular troops employed in that quarter had been marched to their stations, with the exception of small garrisons in the principal forts, and the irregulars had been dismissed,[1] except the Gorkha battalions, to whom principally the defence of the conquered provinces was entrusted. The troops which had been cantoned on the frontier during the rains of 1815, were in readiness to march in the cold season of 1815-16.

There can be no doubt, and the sentiment was unanimously expressed by those who had any knowledge of the date of affairs, that Lieutenant-colonel Bradshaw had suffered the Nepal commissioners to make a delay, which might have caused a failure of success in the second campaign; or have compelled our government to

[1] Lieutenant (now Colonel) F. Young commanded two thousand of them.

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postpone operations till the month of October, 1816. Nor can it be admitted as any answer to the objection urged, that he did succeed at last, as an excuse for a delay, after the ratification by the Governor-general had long been signed. Sir David Ochterlony[1] was now invested with the chief political, as well as military, authority. By the beginning of February 1816, Sir David had taken the field with a force of nearly seventeen thousand men, including three king's regiments.

They were brigaded as follows:—

1st brigade; Colonel Kelly, his majesty's 24th foot:—His majesty's 24th foot, first battalion 18th native infantry, divisions of the second battalion, and the Champarun light infantry.

2nd brigade; Lieutenant-colonel Nicol, 66th foot:—His majesty's 66th foot, fifth and eighth grenadier battalions, first battalion 8th, and second battalion 18th native infantry.

3rd brigade; Lieutenant-colonel Miller, 87th foot:—His majesty's 87th, second battalions of the 13th, 22nd, and 25th native infantry.

4th brigade; Lieutenant-colonel Burnet, 8th native infantry:—second battalions 4th, 8th, 9th,

[1] Wilson viii. 68. He had been created a baronet after the surrender of Malaun.

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and 15th native infantry, and part of first battalion 30th; besides artillery, pioneers, and irregular horse.

Two other divisions were formed, one at Sitapur, in Oude, under Colonel J. Nicolls, intended to enter the district of Dúte, between the Kali and Rapti rivers; the other at Gorakhpur, under Major-general J. S. Wood, intended as a reserve.[1]

The 1st brigade was detached to the right, to penetrate by Hariharpur. From this place there is a road leading to Khatmandu. The 2nd brigade to enter the hills at Ramnuggur. The brigadiers of these brigades were allowed an aide-de-camp. These, taking a circuitous route, were to join Sir David before Muckwanpoor. It marched on the 11th February from Ramnuggur, distant eighteen miles from the hills. General Ochterlony, with the third and fourth brigades, marched on the 12th February, 1816, from Simlabasa through the forest (here about eight miles deep), to the foot of the Bichu-koh, or Chiriaghati pass, formed by the bed of a mountain torrent. The Gorkha commissioners arrived at this place; but, instead of producing the ratified treaty, made

[1] Nepal Papers, 983. The 1st and 2nd brigades had a train of Artillery.

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proposals. They shortly left camp. It is a *political ruse* to send such persons to observe your camp. The only plan is to keep them outside.

Wilson says, the Gorkhas had strongly fortified the passes by which an army might penetrate into the hills, on the route towards Makwanpur, and the valley of Nepal. Lieutenant Pickersgill,[1] Assistant Quarter-master-general, had been surveying on the frontier, and had, during the interval between the two campaigns, obtained information of a *secret* pass (the Chiria-ghati).[2] Wilson says, the Chiria-ghati pass "was defended by successive tiers of strong stockades, and could not have been forced by an attack in front without disproportionate loss. After some delay, another access to the mountains was discovered, and which, although difficult and dangerous, was undefended." An engineer officer went through this pass, which was the Chiria-ghati pass, and not the usual and actually stockaded one. Sir David with the advance went up at night, on the 14th February. When they had proceeded half

[1] He had charge of the intelligence department.

[2] Chiria is a bird. It was an elevated ascent which turned the regular pass; and not intended for the passage of troops, etc.

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way, Sir David doubted if the pathway would lead to the road they were at last to take. He was assured it would; and in the morning he found that they had turned the large stockade which commanded the usual road. It was "a dark and deep ravine, between lofty and precipitous banks, clothed with trees, whose intermingling branches overhead excluded the light of day." They had no guns with them, and moved silently along. An advanced party reported that there was a stockade, but the enemy expected the troops by the other road. They, therefore, fell back. The 4th brigade was left on the ground, their tents standing. The advance (3rd brigade), with his majesty's 87th regiment, was sufficient. Leaving these troops behind, and their tents, and his own tents standing, would lead the enemy to conclude that the troops had *not* marched.

The fourth day, the general[1] moved to Hetaunda, on the bank of the Rapti. The place is built of stone, and where a defence could be made. He was there joined by the 4th brigade, which went by the common pass. The enemy retired from the stockades, when they found the stockades had been turned. They fell back on

[1] Wilson, p. 71.

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Muckwanpoor. Sir David advanced on the 27th February to the valley of Muckwanpoor, and took up a position in line, about one mile and a quarter from the fortified heights. The town and fort lay to the right of the camp. To the right of the fort was a strong stockade. Opposite to the left of the camp was the village of Sekhar-Katri, held by a strong detachment of the enemy; but they evacuated it the next morning. It was taken possession of by three companies of the 25th native infantry, and forty men of the 87th. At noon, the Gorkhas returned in greater force, and endeavoured to recover the position. They drove in the picquets, and attacked the village. The flank companies of the 87th, and the rest of the 25th, were despatched to reinforce the post as soon as the firing commenced. Fresh numbers of the enemy poured along the summit of the heights from Muckwanpoor to the extent of, at least, two thousand men. Two more companies of the 87th, and the second battalion 12th native infantry, were sent, and, after repeated attacks, the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. Although forced to retreat, they kept up a galling fire, until they were dislodged by the bayonets of the 8th native infantry. The action lasted from noon, till

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five o'clock, P.M. The Nepalese loss was computed at five hundred; of the British, forty-five were killed, and one hundred and seventy-five wounded. Lieutenant Terrell, of the 20th native infantry, was killed.[1]

Lieutenant Terrell commanded the party originally sent up with the three companies 25th native infantry, and forty men of his majesty's 87th foot. Considering that the heights were about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, the distance from camp, and the situation of the enemy's village, capable of being reinforced from the fort and stockade, the force was too small. There ought to have been a battalion, and two or three companies of Europeans, and two guns detached. It was to be expected that, if the Gorkhas were disposed to fight, they would attack a small force. The next day, the 2nd brigade joined. We had made a detour to a pass to the left and north of Ramnuggur, and marched up the valley of the Rapti. Before entering the valley, we found a stockade unfinished, and deserted. Leaving the fifth grena-

[1] Adjutant of the 20th Native Infantry, and a volunteer doing duty with the 25th native infantry. A shot from the heights killed one of Sir David's bearers close by his side.

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dier battalion, and the first battalion 8th native infantry, under Major Lumley,[1] we passed our guns down a pass leading into the valley, and proceeded *via* Hetaunda, where the 4th native infantry were posted; and the day after, joined Sir David's force.

The 15th native infantry were stockaded on the heights after the battle. It was determined to attack the stockade to the right of the camp. His Majesty's 66th foot and the 8th grenadier battalion were ordered up. Two six-pounders were carried up on elephants, one carrying the gun and another elephant the carriage. After moving along the ridge to the right for three miles, we stockaded for the night, and were about a mile distant from the enemy's work. While we were making this movement along the ridge, the whole of the troops from camp moved in column parallel to our line of march, so as to be able to send up troops to our aid if attacked. It was a very military and imposing sight viewed by us from the heights. The engineer, Captain Tickell,[2] had brought up two eighteen-pounders

[1] He and Lieutenant D. Williamson, Quarter-Master of Brigade, had the charge of the intelligence department.

[2] Lieutenant General Tickell, C.B., Bengal Engineers.

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to breach the stockade and fort of Muckwanpoor, when, on the evening of the 4th March, 1816, we were informed that the Goroo (Gaj Raj Misr) would pass our post early next morning; and he came next morning with the ratified treaty, which was not accepted without the additional stipulation, "that the cession of territory exacted from Nepal should comprehend the country conquered in the actual campaign, and the valley of the Rapti. This pacific termination was caused by the operations of the 1st brigade. Colonel Kelly had reached Hariharpur, by a route which had not been stockaded. In fact, after various operations, and bringing our artillery to bear, the enemy were defeated after a considerable struggle, and next day Ranjor Sing Thapa, who had defended Jytak, abandoned the fort.[1] Finding that three corps of the 2nd brigade had joined, and hearing of the defeat at Hariharpur just at this time, which would have given an addition of five more regiments, and that Colonel Kelly could turn their flank, they decided upon giving in.

"It was stated[2] by the Gorkha chiefs to the

[1] Nepal Papers, 940.

[2] Wilson, p. 65. Nepal Papers, 776, and 810.

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Honourable Mr. Gardner, the British commissioner in Kumaon, that most of the military leaders and their followers derived their support from the lands of the Tirai; that the raja's house expenses were defrayed from the same source; and that, of the twenty lakhs of rupees a-year, the revenue of Nepal, Tirai alone yielded ten lakhs." The Tirai has been considered the granary of the country in the hills. A portion of grain is grown in the hilly country, but many articles of consumption must come from the plains. The command of the entrance to the passes from the plains, would "stop the supplies." A force was stationed at Segowlee for many years; and during the war with the Sikhs.

In the year 1848-49, during the war in the Punjab, the raja of Nepal came down with a large portion of his army, said to be "on a hunting excursion:" the resident reported favourably of the movement, but an European corps was sent from Fort William to Dinapoor. The Gorkhas were not liked by the people of the country whom they had conquered. This feeling operated there can be no doubt, in favour of the British government. The Gorkhas calculated upon the co-operation of powerful allies, and endea-

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voured to interest Runjeet Sing, (Punjab,) Sindia,[1] the Raja of Bhurtpoor, Meer Khan, the Burmese, and even the Pindarees! But the application to the Emperor of China was the most curious! The raja represented the war to be caused owing to *their* refusal to give a passage through Nepal to a British force intended to take possession of Lhassa, which is under the protection of China. The Chinese authorities asked the Nepal envoys, as to the amount of their army and revenue; they replied, two hundred thousand men, and five and a-half lakhs of rupees (about £55,000.) "Truly," said the Chinese officer, with a sneer, "you are a mighty people!"—that if the English wished to invade China, "they would have found a nearer route than that through Nepal."[2] However, Lord Amherst's embassy in the year 1816, was chiefly undertaken for the purpose of evincing our friendly disposition towards China, and to explain the object of our attack upon Nepal. Our trade with China might have been affected, if the Chinese had supposed we had the object in view imputed to us by the Gorkhas. It is

[1] Wilson, p. 78. Sindia's letter was read in full durbar by the resident, by order of Lord Hastings.

[2] Wilson, p. 80, note 1.

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said that the Gorkhas were disliked by the people.

Hattras, 1817.—Dyaram the zemindar of Hattras had set at defiance the authority of the British government. He had among other acts refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Company's officers. He possessed a strong fort, with a ditch one hundred and twenty feet wide and eighty-five deep. The government was resolved to demolish the forts of the different Talukdars many of whom gave protection to robbers and disobeyed the regulations of government as to police regulations. Dyaram, as the most powerful, was first to be made an example of. He had a force of eight thousand men,[1] of whom three thousand five hundred were horse. He was required to testify his profession of allegiance, by disbanding his troops and dismantling his fortress: the following force took the field, under the command of General Marshall, to compel obedience.

Cavalry:—8th and 24th light dragoons, 3rd and 7th native cavalry, 1st and 2nd Rohilla horse, and rocket troop.

[1] Wilson, viii. 129, and Marquis Hasting's Summary of his Administration, pp. 24—27.

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Infantry:—His Majesty's 14th and 87 regiments, and 2nd battalion 1st, 1st battalion 11th, 2nd battalions 12th, 15th and 25th, 1st battalion 29th, and 2nd grenadiers' battalion; besides artillery and pioneers.

Train:—Seventy-one mortars and howitzers, thirty-four battering guns (twenty-four pounders and eighteen pounders), besides twelve-pounders for enfilading. Major-General Horsford, Commandant of artillery, and Major Anbury, Chief Engineer.

The troops marched early in February 1817, and the fort was invested by the 12th of that month. He made overtures of submission, but would not consent to the demolition of his fort. Batteries were opened against the town and fort, and a vigorous bombardment was kept up upon the latter. A practicable breach was effected in the walls of the town by the 23rd; but the garrison evacuated the place next morning. The bombardment of the fort continued, and most of the buildings were in ruins. On the 2nd of March, a shell fell into the great powder magazine, which caused a tremendous explosion, which was heard at a distance of fifty miles from the fort. It was felt in the batteries and entrenchments.

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The great magazine contained eight thousand maunds (two hundred and ninety-two tons) of gunpowder. Dyaram, convinced of the futility of resistance, made his escape at midnight, with a small body of horse, protected by chain armour; by cutting their way through our cavalry picquet of the dragoons. The explosion completed the work of destruction within the fort, and we took possession of it. The bastions were blown up, and the fort dismantled.

The rocket practice. The rockets were those of Sir William Congreve's manufacture.[1] They did not produce any effect. To insure the straight flight of the rockets, the ground must be level. The great difficulty consists in the direction of the wind. At Hattrass, the wind blew from one side of the fort, and carried the rockets over the place. The range being known, a position must be taken up at a certain distance from the fort. A strong wind will not be favourable to the flight. Rockets are of Indian origin, and can do great execution against large bodies of cavalry.

[1] Major Parlby, Bengal Artillery, made just as good rockets. He had the composition put in the tubes *fresh in India*, which prevents failures in going off!

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CHAPTER II.

PINDAREE AND MAHRATTAH WAR, 1817—18.

"THE political relations established with the Court of Poona," had for some time borne an uneasy complexion, "The claims of the peishwa upon Baroda and Hyderabad, still remained unadjusted, and he ascribed the delay to the purposed procrastination of the British authorities. Their intervention also protected the estates of his feudatories, from his secret or open encroachments; and his *title to be regarded as the head of the Mahrattah confederacy*,[1] which the other members were willing to acknowledge, was avowedly withheld from him by the British government. Notwithstanding the unequivocal tone in which their determination to disallow the resumption of this supremacy was declared, Baji Rao had never desisted from unavowed intrigues for its attainment; and, in *violation* of the terms of the treaty

[1] Wilson, viii. 147. The author's *italics*.

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of Bassein,[1] had constantly maintained agents at the courts of Gwalior,[2] Indore,[3] and Nagpur,[4] and carried on, with little affectation of concealment, negotiations with the Bhonsla, Sindia, and Holkar." "By Sindia, active,[5] though *secret* negotiations were carried on with the ministers of the Holkar state, with the Bhonsla, and with the peishwa, for the establishment of the supreme authority of the latter, and the *consolidation* of the remaining fragments of the *Mahrattah empire*,—vakeels were received privately from Nepal,[6] and from Runjeet Sing;[7] and constant communications were maintained with the Pindaree leaders, who promised implicit obedience to Sindia's orders, and declared themselves ready, with his sanction, to carry fire and sword into the Company's possessions." "The communications which had been carried on[8] by the peishwa, with the several Mahrattah courts, had not been unattended by consequences

[1] December, 1802. In 1803, General Wellesley replaced him on the musnud at Poona, or he would have been a pageant in the hands of the chiefs.

[2] Sindia. [3] Holkar. [4] Berar Raja.

[5] Wilson, p. 169.

[6] Sindia urged the raja of Nepal to hold out against us.

[7] The Sikh ruler.

[8] Wilson, p. 159.

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unpropitious to the continuance of tranquillity, and the maintenance of British influence. The chiefs were generally discontented with their position."

The raja of Berar, Raghuji Bhonsla had died.[1] His son, Parswaji, was infirm of body and weak of intellect. At last Modaji Bhonsla, commonly called Appa Sahîb, the nephew of the late raja, with the coucurrence of the British resident, assumed the office of regent. He was inclined to an intimate connexion with the British government. The government had long desired to induce the Raja of Berar to receive a subsidary force. It was at once accepted, and was to consist of one regiment of native cavalry, six battalions of infantry, one company of European artillery, with the usual proportion of guns.

Central India was disorganised.[2] "In Malwa, the troops of Sindia and Holkar acted independently of their nominal masters, and, were provided with assignments on the revenues of the provinces." "The princes of Rajputana were in a still more helpless condition, and aggravated the evils of political humiliation, by personal incompetency. The raja of Udaypur, indolent and

[1] Wilson, p. 167. [2] Wilson, p. 181.

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improvident, was bearded in his capital by military adventurers,[1] and robbed of his domains by his own feudatory chiefs and clansmen. The raja of Jodpur, affecting idiotcy, abandoned the reins of government to the hands of a dissolute prince, whose career was soon after cut short by the hand of an assassin. The raja of Jypur, a slave to an infatuated attachment to a Mohammedan dancing girl, preserved only a portion of his hereditary possessions, by the sufferance of Ameer Khan." "Every vestige of regular and orderly government had disappeared, and complete dissolution of the bonds of society must have ensued, had not the government of British India obtained, by persevering representation and remonstrance from the authorities in England, a reluctant and qualified permission to effect the extirpation of that part of the predatory system, which consisted in the peculiar organization of the plunderers, termed Pindarees,[2] as preliminary

[1] His palace on the bank of the Lake was besieged, and as Colonel Tod said, the servants bringing up water were plundered. Our government allowed him in 1818, the sum of 4000 rupees (£400) a month, till his country yielded some revenue.

[2] Called sometimes "Free Companies," commanded by Ameer Khan and others, soldiers of fortune, Mohammedan and Hindu.

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to the overthrow of the whole scheme of military depredation." In 1818, after the war, the Marquis Hastings carried out the original plan of the Marquis Wellesley, designed by that great man before his departure from India in 1805,[1] to take Rajpootana under British protection, and thus free it from the hands of lawless plunderers; but which the short-sighted policy of the Marquis Cornwallis repudiated.

The Pindarees had given the British provinces annoyance as early as in 1812. When first known to the British authorities,[2] the Sindia Shahi Pindarees, who were by far the most numerous of the two, were under the leading of a number of sirdars, of whom Cheetoo, Karim Khan, and Dost Mohammed were the principal. None of the Holkar Shahi chiefs were leaders of much note. Blacker[3] gives—

	HORSE.	FOOT.	GUNS.
The Sindia Shahi . .	18,000	1300	15
The Holkar Shahi . .	3,000	200	3
Total . .	21,000	1500	18

"They moved through the country[4] at their

[1] Wilson, p. 181.
[2] Wilson, p. 105 See Papers Pindaric War, pp. 24, 25.
[3] Memoir of the War, (1821) p. 18.
[4] Wilson, p. 170.

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pleasure, and levied contributions at will upon their sovereign's subjects and dependents; or when these failed, carried their bands into the territory of the princes of Rajpootana, and, under pretext of assisting one or other of the contending parties, plundered both friends and foes.[1] To add to these sources of disorder, the mountaineers on the south and west of Malwa, and the Bhils and Mhers, and the petty Hindu chiefs on the south and east of the same country, were commiting unchecked ravages in retaliation for invaded rights or disregarded claims." The Pindarees threatened Mirzapoor, plundered Ganjam, Masulipatam, Guntoor, and the northern Circars. It was expected that any attack on these hordes, as being under the protection of Sindia and Holkar, might cause a war with those chiefs. It was, moreover, known that these chiefs and the Berar raja advocated the supremacy of the peishwa, who again, in 1816, was collecting armed followers at no great distance from Poona.[2] The Governor-general, therefore, resolved to be prepared for all events.

[1] The Mahrattah army at the battle of Panniput, (1761) had many thousands of them.

[2] Wilson, p. 215.

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The armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, to be assembled, amounted to[1] eighty-seven thousand five hundred and ninety-one; and, including irregular horse and contingents, to a grand total of one hundred and sixteen thousand four hundred and sixty-four men, and two hundred and ninety-five guns. The forces of the native powers which might be brought into the field, were estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand and sixteen horse, eighty-seven thousand three hundred and sixteen infantry, and five hundred and eighty-nine guns, including the Pindarees. The British army which took the field in 1817, was the largest ever assembled in India.

The grand army,[2] under Marquis Hastings, commander-in-chief in India:—

1st, or centre division, under Major-general Brown; 1st brigade of cavalry, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd brigades of infantry.

2nd, or right division, Major-general R. S. Donkin; 2nd brigade of cavalry, and 4th brigade of infantry.

3rd, or left division, Major D. Marshall; 3rd

[1] Blacker's Memoir, pp. 19—29.
[2] Blacker's Memoir, pp. 32—38.

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brigade of cavalry, 5th and 6th brigades of infantry.

The reserve division, Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony, Bart., G.C.B.; 4th brigade of cavalry, 7th and 8th brigades of infantry.

Adjutant-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicol.

Quarter-master-general, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Paton.

The army of the Deccan, His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir T. Hislop, Bart., commander-in-chief:—

1st, or advanced division.—Light artillery brigade; the troops of horse artillery, cavalry gallopers incorporated with it; the rocket troop. Cavalry brigade; detachment 22nd light dragoons, 4th and 8th light cavalry. Light brigade; 1st and 2nd infantry brigades.

The 2nd, or Hyderabad division, Brigadier-general J. Doveton.—Cavalry brigade; three brigades horse artillery, and 6th cavalry. 1st and 2nd brigades of infantry. Berar brigade. Hyderabad brigade.

The 3rd division, Brigadier-general Sir J. Malcolm, K.C.B, and K.L.S.—One brigade of horse artillery; 3rd light cavalry; five companies 1st or 3rd native infantry. The Russell

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brigade (1st and 2nd regiments); Ellichpoor contingent; two batteries and four guns; four thousand Mysore horse.

The 4th, or Poona division, Brigadier-general Smith, C.B.—Cavalry brigade; three brigades of horse artillery, 2nd Madras light cavalry; light battalion, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd infantry brigades.[1]

5th, or Nagpur division, Brigadier-general J. W. Adams, C.B. (Bengal).—1st and 2nd infantry brigades. Reserve brigade (three troops native horse artillery, 5th and 6th Bengal light cavalry, 1st Rohilla cavalry, light infantry battalion.)

The reserve division, Brigadier-general Munro. Brigadier-general Pritzler, second in command. —Madras artillery; cavalry brigade; infantry brigade.

The Goozerat division, Major-general Sir W. G. Keir, K.M.T. — Cavalry brigade; 1st and 2nd brigades.

Adjutant-general, Colonel Conway.

Quarter-master-general, Lieut.-colonel Blacker.

The centre division[2] was assembled chiefly at Cawnpoor; the right division at Agra; the left

[1] Two Madras infantry corps;—the rest Bombay corps.

[2] Wilson, vol viii. p. 329.

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division at Kalinjar, in Bundelcund. Two small bodies assembled at Mirzapoor, and another on the frontier of south Behar, under Brigadier-general Hardyman (8th native cavalry, and his Majesty's 17th foot, Rewa contingent of horse, and six guns), and Brigadier-general Toone (his Majesty's 24th foot, 2nd battalion 4th native infantry, Raja Gumsham's horse, and four guns), to defend the British confines to the south-west, and prevent any inroad through Rewa and Chota Nagpur. The reserve division assembled near Rewaree.

The centre division, with Lord Hastings, crossed the Jumna on the 26th October, 1817, and took up a position on the Sindh river on the 6th of November, ready to act against the Pindarees or the Mahrattahs. "Several envoys[1] from Nepal with letters, and two of Sindia's seals, were arrested on their return at Bithur, in the course of September (1817); and letters and messengers from the Pindaree chiefs were constantly arriving at Gwalior, and men were enlisted with little attempt at secresy for their service."[2] Sindia was called upon to explain.

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 246.

[2] Sindia minister said the letters were forgeries. "Sindia was silent!"

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"The ultimatum of the British government, and the draft of a treaty to be signed by him, were communicated to Sindia, towards the end of October." The treaty was actually signed on the 5th of November.[1] Before the treaty was signed, and when Sindia's views were unknown (for it was supposed he might march to join Holkar), the marquis had determined, if Sindia should move from Gwalior, to march on that fortress, leave a brigade entrenched before it, and then follow his army. By the treaty, Sindia[2] "bound himself to employ his forces with those of the British in operations against the Pindarees." He agreed "to maintain a contingent of five thousand horse, to serve with the British troops, and under British command, and to have an English officer attached to each division." The treaty annulled the 8th article of the treaty of 1805, thus leaving the British government at liberty to form engagements with the states of Udaypur, Jodpur, Kotah, and other substantive states on the left bank of the Chambal. In fact,

[1] The author was with the 3rd brigade of the centre division at the time. The attack at Poona occurred on the same day.

[2] Wilson, p. 248.

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to carry out the views of the Marquis Wellesley, thus repudiating the doctrine of the Marquis Cornwallis,[1] who, and the home authorities of the day, objected to any alliance with native states.

Affairs with the peishwa at Poona.—1817. The peishwa was called upon to revise the treaty of Bassein (1802). Instead of paying the subsidiary force, he was to supply the funds by a cession of territory,[2] and Mahrattah cessions; "and he was to pledge himself never more to interfere in the affairs of Hindostan." He had broken the treaty of Bassein by plotting with the Mahrattah chiefs, which (and for his general conduct) "subjected him justly to heavy penalties." News of the attack at Poona, and of the treaty with Sindia, reached Nagpur on the 14th of November, 1817. The Berar raja still appeared to be friendly; his acts soon proved his intentions towards the British. The treaty of Poona had scarcely been signed by Baji Rao, when he repented of the deed, and resumed his

[1] In May, 1823, the officers in London gave Lord Hastings a dinner; Lord W. C. Bentinck in the chair. Lord Hastings then declared that he had "followed in the footsteps of the Marquis of Wellesley."

[2] Wilson, p. 222, Treaty 13th June, 1817.

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intrigues;[1] and by the end of October, he commenced an extraordinary levy of troops, and large bodies of horse and foot were assembled near Poona. The Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, the resident, made general remonstrances as to the peishwa's conduct. He allowed the main body of the subsidiary force under General Smith to march; and the force left at Poona consisted of three battalions of Bombay infantry, under Colonel Burr, a battalion of the Poona brigade, the peishwa's own troops, officered by Europeans, under Captain Ford, and two companies of Bengal sepoys, of the resident's guard. Owing to the bad position of the old cantonments, Colonel Burr had encamped at Kirki on the 1st November. The day before, the force was joined by the Bombay European regiment, and by detachments of the 65th regiment, and of Bombay artillery.

The peishwa's army was computed to amount to ten thousand horse, and as many foot. The British force, consisting of infantry alone, was less than three thousand men. The troops drew up in line, having guns on each flank. Captain Ford's battalion joined, and the line advanced, when a heavy cannonade opened upon them.

[1] Wilson, p. 234.

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Having withstood repeated charges by the enemy, our troops again advanced. The Mahrattahs retreated, and abandoned the victory to the English. The attack was made on the 5th of November. Shortly after the action, a light battalion, with one thousand of the auxiliary horse, arrived. The British lost nineteen killed, and sixty-seven wounded; the enemy's loss was more severe. Gokla, the peishwa's general, advised that the battle should begin; the peishwa wished to recal the order, when it was too late. The Honourable Mr. Elphinstone was mounted, and on the field of battle; and to him much was due for the arrangements before, during, and after the battle.

The loss of the enemy was estimated at five hundred killed and wounded. General Smith arrived. The peishwa fled from Poona on the 17th of November, 1817.

Affairs at Nagpur.—1817. Though[1] "the stipulations of the treaty the Raja of Nagpur had so recently signed restricted him from holding communications with other princes, except with the privity and sanction of the resident, he was speedily involved in a web of secret negotiations

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 262.

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with Sindia, the peishwa, and even with the Pindarees." "At last, as if to proclaim his allegiance to the reputed head of the Mahrattah confederacy, in defiance of his relations with the British, the raja accepted from the peishwa the title of Senapati, or commander-in-chief, and a dress of honour, with which he was publicly invested on the 24th November, after the attack upon the British residency at Poona on the 5th was known to have taken place." "The raja invited the resident to be present, or to depute some officer of his staff; and requested that a salute might be fired by the troops of the subsidiary force, declaring that he saw no reason why the ceremony should disturb the good understanding that subsisted between him and his allies, and affirming, that he had no thought of giving them offence." The resident made an earnest remonstrance. All personal intercourse between him and the court ceased. There was a curious infatuation which infected the mind of the raja, who owed his advanced position and dignity to the British government. On the 14th November, he heard of the attack on Poona, as well as of the recent treaty with Sindia; or, ten days before, he had thus proclaimed his infraction of his own treaty! It is

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said, that he felt himself, "upon Mahrattah principles, bound to support the peishwa, be the consequences what they might be" The act of the 24th November was an indirect declaration of war. The attack which ensued was to be expected.

"The greater part of the Berar subsidiary force had already taken the field,[1] and there remained within reach a detachment which had been posted at Ramtek, about three miles distant, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel H. S. Scott, consisting of two battalions of Madras sipahis, the 1st of the 20th, and 1st of the 24th regiments of native infantry; a detachment of European foot and of native horse artillery, and three troops of the 6th Bengal cavalry. These, upon the resident's requisition marched on the 25th to the residency grounds, and were there joined by the escort, consisting of about four hundred men, with two guns, two companies of Bengal infantry, and a few troopers of the Madras horse. On the morning of the 26th they were placed in position on the Sitabaldi hills. The houses and grounds occupied by the resident and his suite were situated beyond the city of Nagpur, on the west; they were separated from the suburbs of

[1] Wilson, p. 265.

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Nagpur by the Sitabaldi hills, a low range of limited extent, running north and south, and consisting of two elevations at either extremity, about four hundred yards apart, connected by a lower ridge, across which lay the public road." The southernmost was the larger. "The smaller hill, at the northern extremity, was conical and narrow at the summit, being about one hundred feet long, by not more than seventeen broad."

The lesser hill was occupied by the 1st battalion 24th, with two six-pounders. The 1st battalion 20th, with one company of the 24th, were posted on the larger eminence, facing east and south. One hundred men of the escort defended its western side, and the rest were stationed to guard the residency dwellings, which had been fitted for defence. The three troops of cavalry with the small party of the Madras body guard, were formed on the plain in front of the residency. The whole force was about one thousand three hundred strong. The numbers of the Mahrattahs were computed at twelve thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, the latter including the three thousand Arabs.

"During the forenoon of the 26th,[1] notwith-

[1] Wilson, p. 267.

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standing the receipt of pacific messages from the raja, large masses of cavalry were seen spreading themselves along the plain to the west of the residency, while on the side of the city, infantry and guns were taking up positions menacing the hills." Towards sunset two of the raja's ministers came to Mr. Jenkins, who told them that all hostile preparations should be countermanded as a preliminary to any negotiations; but before the object of their mission could be ascertained, the Arab mercenaries in the service of Nagpur opened a smart fire of musketry upon the eastern face of the southern hill; which was followed by an attack upon the northern extremity of the ridge. The principle efforts of the enemy were directed against the smaller hill on the right. The fire was maintained throughout the night upon both extremities of the line. During the night the whole of the Mahrattah army moved out into the plain. At dawn on the 27th they occupied the plain in dark, dense masses of horse, interspersed with considerable bodies of infantry, and a numerous artillery. They made no serious demonstration against the residency. The enemy brought up nine guns at seven A.M. to bear upon the northern eminence, to which

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the detachment could make feeble reply with their two guns. Between nine and ten A.M., one of our guns was disabled, when the Arabs rushed up the hill and drove the defenders from the summit. Guns were brought up and directed against the right of the British line, which suffered severely from a flank cannonade, and men and officers fell fast before the enemy's fire. The enemy in the plain were also in movement; the masses were closing round the rear of the position, and their guns had begun to take effect upon the cavalry stationed in the residency grounds.

British cavalry charge.—"Being galled by the enemy's fire, Captain Fitzgerald, in disregard of the orders which had commanded him to stand firm,[1] resolved to make a dash against the horse and guns most in advance, and with his three troops of Bengal cavalry, and twenty-five men of the Madras body-guard, he rushed upon the foremost mass of the enemy's horse. The charge was irresistible, the unwieldy column was repeatedly penetrated and broken, and entirely dispersed.

[1] Wilson, p. 269. Mr. Wilson says, This is not noted by Prinsep, nor by Colonel Lloyd, but is particularly specified by Colonel Fitzclarence, 121, and Colonel Blacker, 118.

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Their guns were seized and directed against the fugitives, and before the enemy had recovered from their surprise, Captain Fitzgerald with his trophies was again at his post. Colonel Scott, in the orders of the day, acknowledged the critical opportuneness of the charge, and in a letter from the resident it is stated, 'The charge at the critical moment at which it happened, may be said to have decided the fate of the battle.'" This sally turned the tide of affairs. It had been witnessed from the hill, and gave fresh courage to the sipahis. Charging the Arabs, they compelled them to fall back to the left; at this instant, a tumbril on the northern hill exploded, and taking advantage of the confusion which it occasioned, the sipahis pressed forward and recovered the position, dislodging the Arabs from the summit, and driving them not only down the slope, but from the suburbs at his foot. They attempted to rally, but were taken in flank by a troop of cavalry, which had charged round the northern extremity of the line, and completed the expulsion of the assailants from its eastern front. By noon they were, likewise, driven from their advance upon the southern hill, with the loss of two guns; and no longer venturing to approach

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the British line, confined their efforts to a distant and comparatively harmless cannonade. Even this ceased by three o'clock, and the struggle ended in the unexpected triumph of the British detachment. The British loss[1] was one hundred and seventeen killed and two hundred and forty-three wounded. Lieutenant Clarke of the 20th and Captain Sadler and Grant of the 24th native infantry were killed; also Mr. George Sotheby,[2] first assistant to the resident, who acted with distinguished gallantry, and a medical officer was killed. The resident and his civil staff exhibited steady courage, worthy companions of their military brethren in the hour of danger.

The highest commendations were deservedly bestowed upon the troops in India and in England. On her present Majesty's accession the order of the Bath was conferred on Sir Richard Jenkins and Sir W. Lloyd.[3] On a petition from the native adjutant of the 24th Madras native infantry that corps, for its gallantry, was restored to its old number (1st regiment) in the Madras army, which the first battalion 1st regiment had

[1] Wilson, p. 271.

[2] Bombay civil service.

[3] Bengal officer. He commanded the resident's escort.

forfeited, by being concerned in the mutiny at Vellore in 1806.

After the action, the raja sent a message to Mr. Jenkins, declaring that his troops had acted without his sanction or knowledge. The raja was told that the final decision rested with the Governor-general, and that no communication could be permitted while the troops of Nagpur were in the field. In the evening of the 27th, the army of the raja retired beyond the city. The resident consented to a suspension of hostilities. Lieutenant-colonel Gahan, with the three other troops of the 6th Bengal cavalry, and six companies Bengal first battalion 22nd native infantry arrived on the 29th, being followed by the rest of the battalion. On the 5th of December, Major Pitman joined with part of the nizam's infantry and reformed horse, and on the 12th and 13th, the whole of the second division of the Deccan army, commanded by Brigadier-general Doveton, encamped at Sitabuldi. The strength of the force now enabled the resident to dictate to the raja the only terms by which the past might be atoned for.

When General Doveton's[1] division had reco-

[1] Wilson, p, 275.

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vered from the fatigue of their expeditious march, he prepared to attack the Nagpur army. The raja was to acknowledge his having forfeited his crown; to disband his army and deliver up his ordnance and military stores; to cede Nagpur for the temporary occupation of the British; to repair in person to the residency, and remain there till matters should be finally arranged. Upon compliance with these terms he was to be restored, ceding as much territory as would pay for the contingent he was bound to furnish. His assent to be sent in by four A. M. on the 16th of December. The British troops were drawn up in order of battle on the 15th, and slept on their arms all night. Appa Sahib, late in the day, announced his acquiescence, but, on the morning of the 16th, it was affirmed that the Arabs in his army would not suffer him to quit camp. Before the troops advanced the resident sent word to the raja that he was still willing to receive him.[1] Appa Sahib, attended by three of his ministers, rode into the lines. He expressed himself ready to accede to any conditions. He sent back one of the ministers to carry the terms into effect by noon. At the

[1] Wilson, 276.

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appointed hour the British force moved forward, took an advanced battery of fourteen guns without resistance; but, when the line approached the raja's main body, it was saluted with a heavy fire of musketry and cannon. The troops advanced and the enemy's guns were taken, and by half-past one o'clock the enemy had disappeared, leaving their camp standing and forty-one guns on the field, and twenty more in a neighbouring depot.

1818.—The discontent of Appa Sahib had been manifested soon after his restoration,[1] and he professed a wish to resign the whole of his revenues into the hands of the resident, contenting himself with a pension. In an intercepted letter to Baji Rao, he pressed the peishwa to come speedily to his succour. The agents of the Mahrattah princes were still in Nagpur. It became necessary to put the raja under restraint. He was required to repair to the residency. At last a party of sipahis, under Lieutenant Gordon, assistant to the resident, was sent to compel his attendance. Appa Sahib was made a prisoner without the use of violence. There were abundant proofs of Appa Sahib's

[1] Wilson, p. 352.

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hostile designs against the British. It was also ascertained that the death of the late imbecile Raja Parswaji was the act of Appa Sahib's partisans, and committed with his privity and approbation. When Poison failed he was strangled in his bed. He confessed himself the author of the attack on the resident in opposition to the advice of his ministers. The Governor-general, therefore, determined that Appa Sahib should be deposed,[1] and that the next of kin, also named Baji Rao, the son of Raghuji Bhonsla's daughter, a boy of eight or nine years of age, should be raised to the Raja. The regency to be vested in the mother of the young prince, but the administration of affairs to be exercised by the British resident until the raja should be old enough to assume the government of the country.

War with Holkar. 1817.—The leading individuals of Holkar's government[2] had entered into the projects of the peishwa. Envoys from the peishwa were received with honour in the years 1815 and 1816; and a general confederacy against the English was thought practicable.[3]

[1] The Governor-general had placed him on the throne.

[2] Holkar had been insane for several years—since 1811.

[3] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 282.

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Tulasi Bai, a woman of low extraction, whose beauty had captivated and enslaved the mind of Malhar Rao, became, after his death, regent to the young Holkar. Her favourite was Ganpat Rao. He, as well as Tantia Jog, were her ministers. Tulasi Bai and Ganpat Rao were not confident of success in joining the cause of the peishwa, and assured the resident at Delhi of the regent's friendly disposition. Even after the arrival of Sir T. Hislop[1] at Ujayin agents had been sent to his camp, and, in his letter of the 17th of December, 1817, he wrote, "a more definite negotiation has been opened; vakils have been sent to camp, and the substance of a treaty has been proposed." But Roshan Beg, at the head of the disciplined brigades, and Ram Din, who commanded the Mahrattah horse, knew that a pacification with the British would cause the disbanding of their licentious soldiery, and would annihilate their power, and, encouraged by considerable sums of money from the peishwa, and by promises of more, had perseveringly urged recourse to hostilities, and had compelled the Bai to sanction the movement of Holkar's

[1] He held full political powers in 1817-18 in connexion with his operations.

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troops towards the south, which brought them near the British divisions. Motives of personal dislike influenced other members of the administration to join in the plot, and, on the 19th of December, 1817, Ganpat Rao and Tulasi Bai were seized and separated from the person of the young prince. The former was imprisoned, and she was next morning carried to the banks of the Sipra, her head severed from her body, and the body thrown into the river. She was not thirty years of age at the time of her death.

The battle of Mahidpur, 21st December, 1817. The troops, under His Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir T. Hislop, commander-in-chief Madras army, in the battle of Mahidpur, consisted of horse artillery, the rocket troops, part of his majesty's 22nd light dragoons, 3rd light cavalry, two squadrons of the 4th, and of the 8th, light cavalry; his majesty's royal Scots, Madras European regiment, the rifles, 3rd native infantry, second battalion 6th, first and second battalions 14th,[1] first battalion 16th; The Russell brigade,[1] artillery, and four thousand Mysore horse. Sir T. Hislop came in sight of the enemy about nine o'clock, A. M. A large body of their horse[2]

[1] Detachments absent.

[2] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 205, and Blacker, 147.

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crossed the river, and attempted to retard the advance of our troops. Wilson says, "they were drawn up in two lines, with a range of batteries, mounting seventy guns, in their front." Blacker says, "the infantry and heavy batteries formed the first, and the cavalry, in masses, the second." The enemy's right resting on a rugged and difficult ravine, the left on a bend of the river, opposite to the town of Mahidpur. It is stated by a well-known officer who was present, that the river ran in the form of a horse-shoe, the bend or fore part covering their left, while the town of Mahidpur was to the left; and near to the enemy's right, the ground was open. Thus the enemy's front, left flank, and rear were covered by the river. Our army in marching up to the ford, where they crossed, had a continuation of the river on the left flank of their column. There was a ford in the continuation of the river.[1] Blacker says, "though the information respecting the two fords in their front was still unsatisfactory, it was evident, that to cross by any ford, either above or below, would be the manœuvre of, at least, an entire day, and met by a counter-manœuvre, or flight, on the part of the enemy." By crossing by the

[1] A staff-officer of the intelligence department had the day before obtained exact information as to the fords.

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ford on the left of the line (as was done by the Mysore horse), we should have turned the enemy's right, and might have enfiladed their guns. If the enemy changed position by throwing back their right *en potence*, still their right might have been turned. There were two fords in *front* of the enemy. His whole artillery pointed to the river's bank, while some guns on his left flank were thrown forward, so as to give an enfilading fire. The enemy's infantry were behind their guns, and their horse in rear of the infantry. Our regular cavalry were first moved across the river, and finding the enemy's guns played on them, the cavalry passed along the whole front of the enemy's guns. Some of the enemy's horse were in front of their guns, and until some of our guns opened on them, and the dust cleared away, Holkar's guns were not seen.

Blacker says, it was "resolved that the cavalry, with some horse artillery and light infantry, should be advanced to clear the intermediate plain, and to cover a closer reconnoisance of the features of the enemy's position, and the means of approaching it." The troops crossed by the left of the two fords, in *front* of the enemy.

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The bed of the river gave some cover; when they left the protection of the bank, they became exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns. Blacker says the light brigade first crossed, "while a small battery was established on the near side to cover its movement." All the horse artillery guns were dismounted in twenty minutes.[1] "Sir J. Malcolm pushed forward against the enemy's left,[2] whilst the cavalry, supported by the 2nd brigade, attacked the right. Both attacks were successful. The troops advanced in face of a well-sustained fire, and carried the guns, on which the enemy's infantry on either flank broke and fled." The centre was also dispersed. The fugitives were briskly pursued. Our cavalry came upon their camp, and found themselves exposed to the fire of a battery lower down the river, and in rear of the enemy's army. The enemy's object was to escape, and they did so by a ford higher up the river, and in rear of their right. Our loss was seven hundred and eighty-eight killed and wounded.

[1] The horse artillery and cavalry galloper guns were united. An officer present wrote to a Bengal officer as to the fact of the guns being dismounted.

[2] Wilson, p. 285.

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	EUROPEAN.	NATIVE.
Officers killed	3	4
„ wounded . . .	35	23
	38	27
Total killed	174	
„ wounded . . .	604	
Grand total	778 [1]	

The enemy, it was reported, had three thousand killed and wounded. Young Holkar was present in the action, and shed tears when he saw his troops retreat. Ganpat Rao and Tantia Jog had, during the action, escaped. They joined the young prince at Allote, and the latter received the office of minister from Kesaria Bai, the mother of the young prince, who was acknowledged as regent. Under the treaty made with Holkar, that prince retained a territory yielding fifteen lakhs of rupees. "Holkar was released from all dependency on the peishwa, and was guaranteed in his dominions by the British, on whose part a resident was appointed at the raja's court, and by whom a field force was to be maintained, and stationed at pleasure in the raja's territories."[2] As Holkar

[1] Blacker, p. 452.

[2] "Collection of Treatises," p. 86.

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has no army to keep up, his reduced territory, under good management, yield him a larger revenue than the state had in 1817.

Defence of Korigaon. 1st of January, 1818.—"The approach of the peishwa towards Poona induced Colonel Burr, who had been left for the defence of the city, with three native battalions and a body of irregular horse, to call for a reinforcement from Seroor, in consequence of which Captain Staunton was despatched with the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of Bombay Native Infantry 600 strong,[1] two guns, and twenty-six European artillerymen, under Lieutenant Chisholm, of the Madras Artillery, and a detachment of about 350 reformed horse, under Lieutenant Swanston. The detachment left Seroor on the 31st of December (1817), at six o'clock in the evening, and, by ten on the following morning, had ascended some high ground about halfway to Poona, overlooking the village of Korigaon, and the adjacent plain watered by the Bhima river. Beyond the river appeared the

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 303. Blacker gives five hundred sepoys, Duff, (vol. iii. p. 432) a little more than five hundred rank and file. The enemy had three bodies of six hundred each of Arabs, Gosaeens, and two guns, in their attack on the village.

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whole of the peishwa's forces, estimated at 20,000 horse, and nearly 8,000 foot." "Encamped on the *right* bank of the Beemah,[1] above the village of Korigaon; under the walls of which the high road to Poona crossed the river by a ford. Luckily for this detachment, the road to the village, which was on the *left* bank, was unoccupied by the enemy. Captain Staunton pushed for the walls of Korigaon, and succeeded in gaining that position before it fell entirely into the hands of the enemy." The enemy likewise detached infantry to secure the village, which was surrounded by a wall, and protected on the south by the bed of the river, and afforded shelter against the Mahrattah cavalry. Both parties succeeded in occupying part. The village was immediately surrounded by bodies of horse and foot, chiefly Arabs, with two heavy guns. The British occupied the northern and western, the Arabs the southern and eastern portions. The Arabs obtained possession of a small fort. The British obtained a small *choultry*,[2] but not so commanding as the fort. Good positions were obtained for the two guns to command the road

[1] Blacker, 179.

[2] Or caravanserai, houses in a walled square for travellers.

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by which the enemy could advance, but were exposed to the fire from the neighbouring walls. The village was crowded with both horse and foot, cattle, baggage, and followers.

Captain Staunton[1] failing to drive the enemy from their strong positions, was reduced to the measure of defending his own. Horse could not act in such a position. There were only eight European officers, including two assistant-surgeons, "who were more usefully employed in encouraging the fighting men than in attending the wounded. The infantry of the enemy, who advanced to the attack of the village, are represented as three bodies of 1,000 men each.[2] The conflict consisted, on one side, of impetuous attacks, repulsed by desperate sallies from the other; for, when closely pressed, the detachment, in order to gain room, was obliged to charge with the bayonet. This measure, therefore, was frequently repeated, and with success; but, as a charge must always be led by an European officer, the majority of these became disabled by death, or wounds, in successive attacks."

[1] Blacker, p. 180.

[2] There were estimated three thousand Arabs with the peishwa.

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The British guns did much execution. In one of the enemy's assaults a gun was taken, and Lieutenant Chisholm was killed. The gun was retaken, and the enemy driven back with much loss. "In the course of the day Lieutenants Swanston and Connellan, and Assistant-Surgeon Wingate, who were severely wounded, were placed for safety in the *choultry*: this was seized by the enemy. Conceiving that this advantage ensured to them the victory, they gave way to the desire of plunder, and put Mr. Wingate to death, in a spirit of cruelty. The same fate awaited the two remaining officers, when Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Jones, and Mr. Wylie, the only officers left unhurt, vigorously charged the enemy in turn, recovered the *choultry*, with all the lost ground, and rescued the lives of their companions.

The loss was so great, and the exhaustion, from exertion, want of water and refreshment, so severe, that some of the men, European and native, considered resistance hopeless, and expressed a desire to apply for terms. Their commanding officer, however, formed a better judgment; he encouraged them to persevere, and represented the forlorn prospect of a surrender to barbarous and

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cruel enemies.[1] This exhortation had the desired effect, and the enemy began to doubt the success of further attacks. They maintained their position in the village till nine p. m., when they finally evacuated it to seek repose and refreshment. Under cover of the night the detachment got a supply of water, and made preparations for renewing the contest next morning, being now in possession of the whole village. But daylight on the 2nd of January discovered the enemy preparing to move off on the Poona road. This had now become necessary, as on that day Brigadier-general Smith arrived at Chakun. Captain Staunton wanted ammunition and provisions, was precluded remaining where he was, and the road to Poona was occupied by the peishwa's army, by whom spies were sent, as if from Major Cunningham, with an invitation to meet him at Soonee, where the peishwa's army halted the day and night. He, therefore, marched back to Seroor, where he arrived next morning.

The loss.—Two officers were killed and three wounded, of whom Lieutenant Pattinson[2] sub-

[1] As in the case of Colonel Baillie's detachment in Sept. 1780.

[2] He retook the guns taken by the Arabs, although at the time mortally wounded.

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sequently died. Of the European artillerymen, twelve were killed and eight wounded; of the native battalion, fifty men were killed, and one hundred and three wounded; and of the auxiliary horse, ninety-six were killed, wounded, and missing.

"Captain J. Staunton received the thanks of the Governor-general for his gallant conduct,[1] and a public monument was erected on the spot in honour of those who fell." Dr. J. Wylie, C. B., late physician general of the Madras army, who distinguished himself at Korigaon, became a military companion of the Bath in 1815, (thirty-three years after the event), and died on the 16th of June, 1852.

The peishwa when (after the battle of Kirki,) he retreated from Poona to Purundhur,[2] was followed by General Smith. On his approach the peishwa moved to Satara, whence he carried off the person of the descendant of Sivaji and his family. The reserve under Brigadier-general Pritzler, and the fourth division under Brigadier-general Smith,[3] were united near Satara on the

[1] Made aide-de-camp to the Governor-general, and a C.B. He died in 1825.

[2] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 302. [3] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 308.

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8th of February, 1818. The fort was summoned, and surrendered on the next day, when the flag of the raja was hoisted on the fort, and a proclamation was issued, announcing to the Mahrattah nation the deposal of Baji Rao, and that the Company intended to take possession of his territories: establishing the Raja of Satara in a principality for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, and of that of his court.[1]

The peishwa[2] was defeated on the 20th of February, 1818, at Ashti. His forces were attacked and dispersed by Brigadier Adams, at Seoni,[3] on the 10th of April. On the 24th of April, Raigerh, with the wife and treasure of the peishwa[4] surrendered to the force under Colonel Prother. At last[5] the peishwa addressed himself to Sir John Malcolm, as an old friend, and besought his intercession with the Governor-general for favourable terms. He was promised a liberal pension, not less than eight lakhs of rupees (£80,000) per annum, and surrendered on the 3rd of June, 1818,

[1] He was deposed in 1838, in consequence of intrigues alleged against him.

[2] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 310.

[3] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 314.

[4] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 324.

[5] Wilson, vol. viii. p, 359.

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to Sir John Malcolm. The Governor-general objected to the amount of the pension, as well as that there should have been any show of negotiation, considering the helpless state to which he was reduced. As to the amount the reply was, that Amrut Rao[1] who had been placed on the musnud of Poona by Holkar in 1802, had received a similar amount of pension; and that while Baji Rao was free and at the head of troops, there would exist an unsettled state of the country, attended with the maintenance of troops in the field, and consequent expense. Bithur, near Cawnpoor, was fixed upon for his residence. An European officer, as commissioner, had charge of the affairs of the ex-peishwa. "The diminished and scattered fragments[2] of the Mahrattah confederacy were reduced to a state of weakness which could acquire no vigour from re-union; and as the main link which had held it together was struck out of the chain, it was disunited for ever." As Wilson observes, "A Mahrattah prince ruled Hindustan as the nominal representative and real master of the Moghul." In 1803 this was

[1] His brother and father's eldest (adopted) son. He had resided at Benares till his death.

[2] Wilson, p. 366. The peishwa died in 1850.

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the position of Sindia, till the battle of Delhi enabled the English to replace Shah Allum on his throne. In 1802, both Holkar and Sindia tried to obtain the guidance of Bajee Rao. He fled, and was replaced on his throne by General Wellesley, in May, 1803. We restored him to his throne.

The escape of Appa Sahib.[1] Appa Sahib had been detained at Nagpur, after he had been deposed. The Governor-general thought it expedient to send him to Hindostan, where he was to be placed, for security, in the fort of Allahabad. The resident despatched him under the escort of a wing of the 22nd Bengal native infantry, and three troops of the 8th native cavalry, commanded by Captain Browne, 22nd native infantry, on the 3rd May, 1818. On the 13th, the raja had disappeared. During the night of the 12th, he had been secretly furnished with the dress and accoutrements of a sipahi, and when the sentinels were changed, had marched off with the relieving party. A pillow took his place on his couch, and when the native officer, whose duty it was to inspect the tent, looked into it, he saw what he supposed to be the raja quietly reposing, and two

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 357.

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servants kneeling by the bedside, engaged in the office of rubbing his limbs (usual in India). Some of the sipahis had been induced to contrive the raja's escape, and became the partners of his flight. A non-commissioned officer was posted as sentry at the door of the tent of the ex-raja, and ordered to be relieved *every hour*. One of these sentries was tried, and sentenced to be shot; the sentence was commuted to three years' labour in irons on the road: as the native officers tried were only dismissed from the service.[1] The orders were disobeyed by relieving the sentries every *three hours*, instead of every hour, and not going into the tent to see that the ex-raja was there; and the order, that a native commissioned officer should see the face of the ex-raja at each relief, was disobeyed. But the mistake was, in not having an *European* officer on duty, instead of a *native* officer! A reward of £10,000 was offered for the re-capture of the ex-raja, and a jagir of £1,000 a year for life. The pecuniary reward was afterwards doubled.[2] This "failed to seduce from

[1] Hough's Practice of General Courts Martial, 1825, pp. 486, 487, (1818 and 1819). Captain Brown was fully and honourably acquitted.

[2] Wilson, p. 358

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their allegiance the half-savage mountaineers." He wandered about to various places, and was supposed to have gone into the Punjab; but nothing certain is known even as to his existence at the present day. He went to the Punjab; but Runjeet would not, as an enemy of the English, allow him to remain.

Thus, of the four native powers, the peishwa, Sindia, the Berar Raja, and Holkar, Sindia was the only one who kept the position he held before the war. There were many marches and countermarches made against the Pindarees. The result was, that they were rooted out from their strongholds; many were destroyed, and from the remainder selections were made, to locate bodies of them in Goruckpoor, and in other places in the Company's provinces, and at Bhopal. The Marquis Hastings wrote of the war,[1] "The important degree in which, as represented by Sir David Ochterlony, the people of the Rajpoot states, amounting to some millions, were benefited by the proceedings of the British government, will excite lively gratification. That population, however, formed but a part of the immense mass rescued from misery." Regarding the peishwa,[2]

[1] Summary of his Administration, p. 46. [2] Page 58.

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" no act of personal kindness, no obligations of plighted faith, no conviction of almost inevitable ruin, could weigh with Mahrattah chiefs against the professed bond of obedience to the head of their tribe." Of the Najpoor Raja, Blacker writes,[1] " His devotion to a cause, which he probably considered paramount to every other consideration, and to which he held himself bound, both by worldly and religious ties."

Loss during the war. Blacker[2] gives the number of European officers killed and wounded at one hundred and thirty-four; and the number of all other ranks appear to have amounted to three thousand and forty-two. The operations lasted from the 5th November, 1817, to 13th May, 1819. The battle at Poona was fought on the 5th November, 1817. Asseergurh surrendered on the 9th May 1818 (considered to terminate the war with the Mahrattahs); and Copaldroog captured on 13th May, 1819.

Sindia had promised to direct the killedar (Juswunt Rao Laar) to deliver up the fort of Asseergurh. Sir J. Malcolm[3] asked the killedar

[1] Page 431.

[2] Preface p xvii. Madras, one hundred and four; Bengal, eighteen; Bombay, twelve officers.

[3] Blacker, p. 427, the author's *italics*.

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if he had not an order from his prince to deliver up the place to the British army? He said, "*It may be the custom among Europeans to obey such mandates; but, with Mahrattahs, forts like that,*" pointing to Asseergurh, "*are not given up upon orders.*" Instructions were found in the place, "enjoining him to pay no attention whatever to any counter-orders he might receive, but to hold out as long as possible."

In 1819, treaties[1] were entered into with the Rajas of Udaypur, Jaypur, Jodpur, Jesselmer, and Bhikaner, also with the petty chiefs of Banswara, Dungerpur, Pertabgerh, Sirohi, Krishnagerh, Kerauli, Bundi, and Kota. "With each of these, formal engagements were contracted, upon the general basis of subordinate co-operation, and acknowledged supremacy."

[1] Wilson, vol. viii. p. 413.

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CHAPTER III.

THE BURMESE WAR. 1824—26.

ALOMPRA (founder of the present dynasty) obtained possession of Ava in 1753. In the war between the Burmese and the Peguers the English supported the former, and the French the latter.[1] Alompra died about May, 1760. In 1757 he granted the island of Negrais, near the west branch of the Irawaddy, to the English; they were driven away from it in 1759 by the Burmans. In 1767, or year 1131 of the Burman Æra,[2] the Chinese sent 50,000 men from the western frontier of Yunan. They were hemmed in and all destroyed except 2,500 sent in fetters to the capital. In 1783 the Burmese conquered Aracan. In 1795 the Burmese learnt that three robbers from Aracan had taken refuge in the district of Chittagong. They ordered 5,000 men to enter the company's terri-

[1] Symes's Embassy.

[2] This gives as their origin A. D. 636.

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tories, and supported the above force with an army of 20,000 men. General Erskine was sent with a corps of Europeans and sepoys. The Burmese, finding that the English had not concealed or protected the "distinguished robbers," retired to their own territories. This affair caused the mission of Lieutenant-Colonel Symes, in 1795, to Ava. In 1797 the same occurrence took place, when Captain Hill[1] was sent to Aracan, who returned from it in 1800. The king of Ava sent an ambassador, who was dismissed by Marquis Wellesley with assurances regarding the restoration of the emigrants, if found in the Company's territories; and harmony was restored between the two governments. In 1803 and 1809 Captain Canning[2] was sent, and, in the latter year, was allowed to proceed to Amarapura, and had an audience of the king. The minister hinted at the pretensions of Ava to Chittagong and Dacca. Nothing more satisfactory could be obtained. The object of the mission was to explain the nature of the blockade imposed upon the trade with the Isle of France. There were further causes for complaint against

[1] Wellesley's Despatches, vol. ii. p. 275.
[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 18. note 2.

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the Burmese in the years 1817 and 1819. In 1823 a demand was made of the island of Shahpuri.[1] The Burmese were collecting troops, both in Assam and Aracan.

The Commander-in-Chief recommended the formation of three brigades of 3,000 men each, to be stationed on the eastern frontier, at Chittagong, Jumalpore, and Goalpara; and a flotilla on the Burrampootra, towards Assam, and in the vicinity of Dacca. Kachar and Manipoor were under our protection, and were threatened. The Burmese were informed[2] that, if they advanced into Kachar, we would oppose them. This they disregarded: they advanced a force

[1] Wilson's Burmese War, (4to. 1827,) p. 10. They claimed the Naf (river) which constituted the boundary between Chittagong and Aracan. Close to the Chittagong side (and separated by a narrow channel) was situated the island of Shahpuri. Wilson vol. ix. p. 32. Lord Hastings in his Summary of his Administration, (p. 41.) states that on his way back to Calcutta, in July, 1818, "I received a rescript, brought by an envoy from the Burman monarch." The purport was "a requisition for our immediate surrender of all the provinces east of the Bhaugharetty, even including Moorshedabad; with a menace that, should the demand not be obeyed, he would lay waste our territories with fire and sword."

[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 31. History of India.

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towards the close of 1823, threatening our Sylhet frontier ; it was attacked, and actual hostilities began. War being now declared by the British Government, measures were taken for its prosecution. The troops on the frontier were limited in their operations to the protection of the British provinces, and the expulsion of the Burmese from the adjacent territories. Their maritime provinces were to be attacked. Colonel Innes had a brigade at Sylhet. Colonel Shapland had 3,000 men at Chittagong. Brigadier M'Morine, with about 2,500 men, was at Goalpara.

Troops were sent from the Bengal and Madras Presidencies. From Bengal Her Majesty's 13th and 38th Foot, two companies of Artillery, and the 40th Native Infantry (marine corps), (2175) men). From Madras Her Majesty's 41st and 89th Foot and Madras European regiment, and, including seven native regiments, 9th, 12th, 28th and 30th Madras Native Infantry, artillery, and pioneers, 9,300 men, or grand total, 11,475 men.[1] The object was to occupy Rangoon, and the country at the mouth of the Irawadi river. The Bengal troops sailed in April, 1824. "The difficulty in collecting a sufficient force for a

[1] Wilson's Official Documents, pp. 19—24.

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maritime expedition from Bengal, owing to the repugnance which the sepoys entertain to embarking on board vessels,[1] had early led to an application to the Madras Government. Besides transports, there was a flotilla of twenty-gun brigs, and as many row-boats, carrying an eighteen-pounder each. There were His Majesty's sloops 'Larne' and 'Sophie,' and several company's cruizers, and the 'Diana' steamboat." Major-general Sir A. Campbell, Commander-in-chief of the Forces.[2] Brigadier-general Macbean commanded the Madras troops. The Bengal troops reached the rendezvous about the end of April (Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andamans). They were joined by His Majesty's frigate "Liffey," Commodore Grant, and Slaney, sloop-of-war. The last Madras division left on the 23rd of May,[3] and joined at Rangoon in June and July. More troops were sent from Madras in August and September; and, by the end of 1824, His Majesty's 47th Regiment, and the

[1] They went to Egypt in 1801; to the Isle of France in 1810; to Java in 1811; and Ceylon in 1818. There were about 8,000 sepoys on the frontier.

[2] Some general officers at Madras had declined the honour and responsibility.

[3] Some dispersed by a gale of wind.

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Governor-general's body-guard, making the whole force engaged in the first campaign nearly 13,000 men.[1] Captain Canning[2] went as political agent and joint commissioner with Sir Archibald Campbell.

On the 9th May, 1824, the expedition[3] arrived off, and on the 10th stood in for, the river. The town was surrendered, after some firing from the Liffey. It was found deserted by the enemy. Before reaching Rangoon, detachments were sent to seize the islands of Cheduba and Negrais.[4] A detachment was sent against the Tenasserim coast, in the end of August.[5] Tavoy and Mergui speedily fell into our hands. The enemy, on the 1st of July, made an attack[6] on the British lines, and were defeated. There were various operations near Rangoon.

Owing to the difficulties experienced of penetrating into the interior from Rangoon, it was pro-

[1] The eight thousand men at Sylhet, Chittagong, and Goalpara were on the frontier.

[2] He died in Calcutta, 2nd Sept. 1824, one of the first victims.

[3] Official Documents, pp. 25, 61.

[4] Official Documents, p. 49.

[5] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 73.

[6] Snodgrass, p. 47.

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posed[1] to try and penetrate from Kachar, through Manipoor, into the valley of the Ningti river, falling into the Irawadi; and a force of about seven thousand troops, under Colonel Shuldham, was formed. This failed. The other route was from Chittagong, through Aracan, and across the mountains into Ava, where it was to effect a junction with the army of Rangoon. A force of eleven thousand men,[2] consisting of His Majesty's 44th and 54th regiments, the 26th, 42nd, 49th, and 62nd Bengal native infantry, and 2nd light infantry battalion; the 10th and 16th Madras native infantry, the Mug levy, a body of local horse, with artillery and pioneers, assembled at Chittagong towards the end of September 1824, under the command of Brigadier-general Morrison, of His Majesty's 44th; a flotilla of sloops and gun-brigs was attached to it, under Commodore Hayes,[3] for the conveyance of troops and supplies along the shore, and to co-operate

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 93.

[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 96.

[3] Vestal, Bombay cruiser; the Research and Investigator, surveying ships; five gun-brigs; ketch bomb-vessel, Pluto; steam gun-vessel; four gun pinnaces; and eighty gun-boats, each carrying a twelve-pounder; transports; Mug and country boats; and a flotilla marine six hundred men.

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with the force. The force moved from Chittagong early in January, 1825.[1] The approach to the town of Aracan[2] lay across a narrow valley, bounded by a range of hills about four hundred feet high, the summit of which was crowned by a series of stockades, and garrisoned by the whole Burma force, estimated at nine thousand men. An attack, made on the 29th March, failed. On the evening of the 31st, Brigadier Richards,[3] with a detachment,[4] ascended the range by a circuitous route, and had established himself on the summit, before his movement was detected by the enemy. Next morning (1st April), the division attacked the Burmese in flank, while the

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 106. His Majesty's 54th, 10th Madras native infantry, and left wing 16th native infantry, went by *sea*. The field-battery, his Majesty's 44th, 1st light infantry battalion, four companies 42nd Bengal native infantry, five companies 62nd native infantry, right wing Madras 16th native infantry, and two troops of Gardner's local horse went by *land*. The 26th and 49th Bengal, went by *boats* along the coast. There were one thousand five hundred Europeans, and eight thousand native troops; total, nine thousand five hundred men.

[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 108.

[3] Lieutenant-General Sir W. Richards, K.C.B. Bengal.

[4] Six Companies 44th foot, three of the 26th, three of the 49th, thirty seamen and thirty Gardner's dismounted horse.

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main body again assailed them in front. The enemy were driven from each stockade, and abandoned Aracan to the British arms, retreating across the low lands between the city and the mountains, and crossing the latter by the passes of Talak and Aeng.

General Morrison, being very ill, left Aracan in October, and the command devolved upon Brigadier Richards. He, on the 31st October, 1825, when commanding the south-east division in Aracan, reported[1] "that at present there is no road by which troops, with their supplies on cattle, could travel from hence (Aracan) through the mountains. "There are three roads; the northernmost, the Limrao road; the next lower down, the Talak; and the third, the Aeng road. The Talak, ninety miles from the town of Aracan. From Talak to the opposite side of the Yeo Mandong range, is said to be seventy miles." The 18th Madras native infantry,[2] under Captain D. Ross, with elephants, marched first to Pakangyeh, on the Irawadi, eight marches from Yandabo, and thence, after crossing the river to Sembew Ghwen, quitted the low country in

[1] Extracts from his Journal.

[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 153.

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three days; and in eight more, crossed the mountains by a practicable route to Aeng in Aracan. Captain Trant,[1] assistant quarter-master-general, observes, "We met with but little arduous difficulty, yet performed a march of one hundred and twenty-four miles, which had been supposed impracticable, in eleven days, and clearly pointed out that, had this road been examined, it would have been found that there was nothing to have prevented a portion of General Morrison's army from wintering in Ava, instead of perishing in the marshes of Aracan." The sickness of his surveyor, prevented the brigadier causing a minute investigation of the roads being made in time to have effected this object.

Sir A. Campbell,[2] owing to the want of conveyance and of supplies, early suggested doubts of the possibility of penetrating into the interior of Ava by the line of the Irawadi. Sir T. Munro, Governor of Madras, wrote to Lord Amherst,[3] on the 23rd August, 1824, "I have al-

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 153, note 1. Two Years in Ava, p. 447.

[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 118.

[3] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 119, note 1. Life, vol. ii. p. 131.

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ready given my opinion on the main point, namely, that the plan of advancing by the Irawadi was preferable to that of marching south, or re-embarking and landing at Aracan. I can see no object in his going to Martaban, because it would not facilitate his advance to the capital, as, according to his own account, even if the Siamese and Peguers were to take a part in the war, he would still require draught and carriage equipage from Bengal. With regard to the plan of re-embarking the Rangoon force, and landing it at Aracan, nothing could justify such a measure but the certainty of being furnished there with an equipment of draught and carriage-cattle. If they could not obtain it, they would be still more helpless than where they are now, and we should have lost reputation,—given confidence to the enemy." But Brigadier-general Morrison's force had not then left Chittagong.

After obtaining a supply of conveyance, Sir A. Campbell, leaving a garrison in Rangoon of native troops, with such Europeans as were unfit for field duty, formed the remainder of his force into three divisions; one, of the strength of two thousand four hundred, under his own

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command;[1] one of twelve hundred under Brigadier-general Cotton;[2] and one of less than six hundred men under Major Sale.[3] The latter was directed to proceed against Bassein, and after clearing that province, to cross the country, and join the main body at Henzada, on the Irawadi. The division under General Cotton was to proceed by water, with a flotilla of sixty-two gun boats, and all the boats of the men-of-war, under Captain Alexander of the Royal Navy, and on its way was to carry the enemy's entrenchments at Panlang and Donabew. The column under Sir Archibald Campbell was to proceed by land to Prome, on the Irawadi, where it was to be joined by the other divisions.

Major Sale[4] proceeded by sea to Cape Negrais.

[1] The land column:—his Majesty's 38th, 41st, and 47th, three native battalions, the body guard, a troop of Bengal horse artillery, and part of the rocket troop.

[2] His Majesty's 89th, 1st Madras European regiment, two hundred and fifty of the 18th Madras native infantry, foot artillery and part of the rocket troop.

[3] His Majesty's 13th and 12th Madras native infantry, with details of artillery.

[4] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 119.

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The fire of the ships drove the enemy from their batteries. The troops landed and destroyed the works. The squadron ascended the Bassein river, to the town of that name. The enemy had abandoned it, and set it on fire. The enemy fell back upon Donabew. The column under Sir A. Campbell marched on the 13th of February, 1825. General Cotton's column advanced to Yangan-Chena, where the Rangoon branch separates from the Irawadi, and arrived in sight of Donabew[1] on the 28th February, where Maha Bandoola had entrenched himself. There was some delay in the heavy boats crossing the shallows into the Irawadi. The column reached Panlang, on the Rangoon river, on the 19th February; both banks were defended by stockades. The shells and rockets drove out the enemy, and a division of the Madras 18th native infantry was left there. The whole were in the main stream by the 4th of March, and on the 6th took up a position on the right bank of the river, two miles below Donabew. The Burma general had been summoned to surrender, and had returned a courteous but resolute refusal. The works were of considerable strength along

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 122.

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the right bank of the river, and commanding its whole breadth. The chief work, a parallelogram of one thousand by seven hundred yards, stood on a bank withdrawn from the bed of the river in the dry season, and rising above it. Two others, one a square of two hundred yards, with a pagoda in the centre, and the other, an irregular work, four hundred yards from it, stood lower down on the river, forming outworks to the principal stockade, commanded and supported by its batteries. All three were constructed of squared beams of timber, provided with platforms, and pierced for cannon; and each had an exterior ditch, the outer edge of which was guarded with sharp-pointed bamboos, and a thick abatis of felled trees and brushwood. One hundred and forty guns of various calibre, and a greater number of ginjals, were mounted on the parapets, and the garrison consisted of twelve thousand men, commanded by the most celebrated general in the service of Ava. General Cotton had left his native regiment at Panlang, and part of his Europeans to guard the boats and stores. "His whole available force did not, therefore, exceed six hundred bayonets, a force manifestly inadequate to the storming of Donabew."

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General Cotton considered the commander-in-chief's orders imperative, and prepared to attack. On the 7th he formed two columns, composing, altogether, five hundred men. They advanced against the smaller stockade, supported by the fire of two field-pieces, and of a rocket battery. It was captured. The second of the entrenchments was next attacked. It was stormed by two hundred men. The attack failed, and the party was recalled. General Cotton seeing it was evident that his force was too small, the guns and stores were re-embarked, and the flotilla dropped down to the position at Yung-yung, which it had occupied on the 6th of March, and there awaited instructions from the commander-in-chief.

It is evident that General Cotton's force was inadequate, and that Sir A. Campbell ought to have proceeded with his whole force to attack Donabew, which would only have amounted to three thousand six hundred men: instead of detaching twelve hundred men from his force, which was too weak to advance with into Prome. He could not advance till joined by other troops, and he had to return. On the 25th of March, Sir A. Campbell, having made a retrogade movement,

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 126.

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came before Donabew. The army encamped above the works; the water column was some way below them. The flotilla on the 27th, with a fair breeze, joined the army; landed the heavy guns and mortars. Shells and rockets were diligently thrown into the entrenchments. The guns opened on the 3rd of April. They were unanswered. Shortly after, the Burmese were observed to be in full retreat. It was soon ascertained that Maha Bandoola had been killed on the previous night by the bursting of a shell. The loss of the British in the affairs before Donabew was thirty killed, and one hundred and thirty-four wounded. As soon as the post was taken possession of, Sir A. Campbell resumed his march. He was at Tharawa with his advance, on his way to Prome, on the 7th of April, and on the 8th, was there joined by reinforcements from Rangoon, under Brigadier M'Creagh, consisting of His Majesty's 1st or royal regiment, and the 28th Madras native infantry, with elephants and carriage cattle. The Burmans had been rallied by the Prince of Tharawadi. The army reached Prome on the 25th of April, without encountering an enemy.[1] The town had been evacuated by the Burmans, after burning the stockades.

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 128.

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Sir A. Campbell[1] had now about five thousand men, of whom, two thousand three hundred were Europeans. Detachments left at Rangoon to the extent of about fifteen hundred more, were under orders to join him. An armistice had been agreed upon, to extend from the 17th of September, to the 17th of October, "during which, neither force should cross a line extending from Komma, on the west bank of the Irawadi, through Naibenzik, to Tongho. Towards the end of September, Sir James Brisbane[2] joined the army. The Kyi Wungyi engaged to meet the British general at Naibenzik on the 2nd of October, to determine the definitive conditions of peace. The meeting took place. Sir A. Campbell was accompanied by Sir James and his personal staff, and one thousand picked men, both Europeans and natives. A like number of Burmas formed the escort of the Kyi Wungyi. The parties met at Naibenzik, on a plain. The Kyi Wungyi was assisted by other officers of rank. It very soon appeared that they were entirely unprepared for the demands made upon their government by the British commanders.

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 133.

[2] Commander-in-chief of the British navy in the Indian seas.

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"The court of Ava[1] was expected to desist from all interference with Assam and Kachar, and to recognise their dependence of Manipur, Aracan, with its dependencies, was to be given up to the British, and an indemnity of two crores of rupees (£2,000,000), was to be paid for the expenses of the war; until the discharge of which sum, Rangoon, Martaban, and the Tenasserim provinces, were to be held in pledge. A resident was to be received at Ava, and a commercial treaty to be concluded, by which the trade with Rangoon should be relieved from the exactions by which it had hitherto been repressed. These proposals were received by the Burma negotiators with manifest surprise, and were strenuously resisted." They were unauthorised to accede to such conditions, and must refer them to the royal pleasure. They proposed, therefore, to extend the armistice to the beginning of November. Little doubt was entertained, that recourse must be again had to arms. At the end of October, a letter from the Burma chief announced, "that if the English made any demands for money for their expenses, or for any territory, friendship was at an end. Such was the custom of the

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 135.

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Burmas."[1] The court was indignant, and the war party rose in favour. The Burma army was ordered to move upon Prome. Their army drew towards the British lines, to circumscribe their limits, and harass and intercept their communications.

A considerable body of their troops was thrown forward to Watigaon, twenty miles from Prome, where they entrenched themselves. It was necessary to dislodge them.[2] On the evening of the 15th November, 1825, Brigadier M'Dowall, with four regiments Madras native infantry, moved in three columns. The ground did not admit of the employment of field artillery; and, "as the brigade was unprovided with battering guns, the entrenchments could not be breached." There was no co-operation. The commandant was killed, and the attack failed.[3] The principal cause of the failure appears to have been mis-

[1] At the interview they said, the Chinese had formerly conquered a part of Ava, but at the peace had exacted no pecuniary compensation.

[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 138.

[3] Ten other officers were wounded, one died; of the sepoys fifty-three were killed, one hundred and ten wounded, and forty-two missing. Total loss of two hundred and sixteen.

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information as to the amount of the Burma force, which, instead of two thousand or three thousand as reported, whereas it consisted of eight thousand shans, two thousand Burmas, and six hundred horse.[1] The success of the Burmans confirmed them in their expectation of compelling the British army to retire from Prome. The Burmans advanced within a few miles of Prome. Sir A. Campbell, with his Majesty's 13th, 38th, 47th, and 87th regiments, and 38th Madras native infantry, in one column; and General Cotton, with his Majesty's 41st and 89th regiments, and 18th and 28th Madras native infantry, in another, attacked them. The flotilla, and a corps of native infantry, were to make a demonstration against the enemy's right; while Sir Archibald attacked their left.[2] General Cotton attacked them at noon on the 1st December; and the Burmans left three hundred dead in the entrenchments. The veteran general, Maha Nemyo, was among the slain. The division under Sir A. Campbell was delayed, but came up and completed the defeat. Our troops attacked and defeated the Burmans again on the 2nd, drove

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 139.
[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 141.

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them from their entrenchments, and followed them from hill to hill till the whole position, two miles in extent, was in our possession. On the 5th of December, Brigadier-general Cotton crossed the Irawadi, and drove them from the other stockades. Our loss was twenty five killed, and one hundred and twenty-one wounded. Three officers killed, two wounded (one mortally). This broke up the Burma force.

The force reached Miaday[1] on the 19th of December, accompanied by the flotilla. The latter was met on the 26th by a flag of truce, bearing a message from the Burma commander, stating that full powers had been received from the court to conclude a treaty, and suggesting that deputies should be sent to discuss the conditions. Lieutenant-Colonel Tidy and Lieutenant Smith, R.N., were again sent.[2] The army continued its march, and arrived at Patangoh, opposite to Melloon, on the 29th, where it encamped. The flotilla ascended the river without molestation. A suspension of arms was proposed, but not agreed to.[3] On the 30th of De-

[1] Wilson, p. 143. [2] Sent on the former occasion.

[3] The proposed meeting was to be on the 24th January, 1826.

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cember a conference was held in a boat which the Burma chiefs undertook to fit up for the meeting and anchor in the middle of the river.[1] Accordingly Sir A. Campbell, accompanied by Mr. T. C. Robertson,[2] the civil commissioner from Bengal, and by Sir James Brisbane, repaired on board, and were met by four of the principal members of the Burma Government. The stipulations were the same as those formerly proposed, and were encountered with the same objections.[3] Those relating to territorial concession were not persisted in; but the unwillingness to pay money indemnification was so insuperable, and the plea of inability so tenaciously urged, that the British commissioners were induced to lower the demand to one crore of rupees (£1,000,000). With this alteration the Burma commissioners professed themselves contented, and a definitive treaty was executed by them on the 3rd of January (1826). An armistice was agreed upon until the 18th, by which period it was expected that the treaty

[1] Imitating the meeting of the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor Napoleon, in 1807, at Tilsit.

[2] Lastly, member of the Supreme Council in India.

[3] Besides the money compensation objected to, they had said that the Chinese had, when the peace was re-established, restored the subjugated territory.

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would be returned from Ava with the royal ratification, the prisoners at Ava would be sent down, and the payment of the first instalment would be commenced. These expectations were disappointed.

On the 17th of January[1] a deputation was sent to apologize for the non-arrival of the ratified treaty, and requesting prolongation of time. This was declined, and on the 18th a deputation from the British camp proceeded to Melloon to apprise the Wungis, that, unless the ratified treaty should arrive, or, unless they engaged to evacuate Melloon by sunrise, on the 20th, the post would be attacked. They refused to accede to the latter, and could not pledge themselves to the former. Hence the army advanced. Melloon was stormed and taken. On the 8th of February[2] the army approached within five miles of the ancient city of Pagahm, the capital of the Burma empire, at the season of its greatest power and prosperity. The force, with Sir A. Campbell, did not exceed 1,300 men, of whom 900 were Europeans; two regiments of the latter, the 47th and 87th, detached to Tondwyne,

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 145.
[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 148.

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to collect cattle and grain, as well as disperse a body of Burmas, reported to be stationed there, to harass the British flanks, not having rejoined.

After halting five days at Pagahm, Sir Archibald, on the 16th of February, continued his march towards the capital, and had reached Yandabo, within sixty miles of Ava.[1] The treaty was at last concluded on the 24th of February, 1826. The payment of the first instalment of twenty-five lakhs of rupees (£250,000), was a proof of the sincerity of the court; "and, by the authority vested in the American deputies,[2] to accede to whatever terms the British commissioners should impose. No other conditions were stipulated than those already insisted upon; and a treaty was finally concluded upon the basis already described. The King of Ava renounced all claim to, and right of interference with, the country of Assam, and the principalities of Jyntia and Kachar, and recognised the independence of Manipur. He consented to cede in perpetuity the four divisions of Aracan, or Aracan Proper, Ramri, Cheduba, and Sandoway, and the three

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 152.

[2] Messrs. Price and Judson, Missionaries.

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districts of Tenasserim, Ye, Tavoy, and Mergui, or the whole of the coast belonging to Ava, south of the Sanluen river; to receive a resident at his capital, and sanction the conclusion of a commercial treaty; and, finally, he agreed to pay a crore of rupees (or about £1,000,000) in four instalments, the first immediately, the second within one hundred days from the date of the treaty,[1] and the other two in the course of the two following years." The British engaged to retire at once to Rangoon, and to quit the Burma territory upon the payment of the second instalment. The discharge of the promised indemnity was tardily and reluctantly complied with.

On the receipt of the ratification of the treaty the army broke up from Yandabo. A brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, marched by land to Rangoon. The 18th Madras Native Infantry crossed the mountains by the Aeng Pass, in Aracan, in a march of 124 miles in eleven days. Sir A. Campbell and Mr. Robertson embarked in boats, and proceeded down the river to Rangoon, whence such of the troops as were not required to protect the cautionary towns and conquered provinces, were despatched to their

[1] Falling due on the 4th June, 1826.

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several presidencies. Sir A. Campbell, after visiting Calcutta, returned to Rangoon, of which he held possession until the payment of the second instalment, at the end of the year 1826. He then removed the troops to Moalmain, an inconsiderable village opposite to Martaban, on the British side of the Sanluen river, but which afforded a convenient military frontier station. A sea-port, called Amherst, was established at the mouth of the river Sanluen, twenty-seven miles below Moalmain.

It appears, by the statement of the late Captain W. Roy,[1] in 1841, that when Lord Amherst heard of the fall of Bhurtpoor (captured on the 18th of January, 1826), he wrote to Mr. Robertson, the civil commissioner, to demand four crores of rupees (£4,000,000), and all the country up to Prome. The original treaty was signed on the 3rd of January, 1826. It was too late to make any further demands. The war, it is said, upon good authority, cost fourteen crores of rupees (£14,000,000).[2]

[1] Stated to the author in 1841, in Calcutta, by Captain W. Roy, who was a merchant at Rangoon, and prisoner on our landing at Rangoon, in 1824.

[2] Wilson (Narrative, 1852, p. 262,) thinks it cost about £5,000,000,

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The Burmans obtained possession of Assam and Aracan in 1783.[1] The Tenasserim province originally belonged to the King of Siam. "In 1688 the Court of Directors of the East India Company ordered their servants to endeavour to obtain possession of it from the king, and to fortify it. In 1759 it was taken from the Siamese by Alompra, the Burman monarch, after feeble resistance. It was then large and populous, but is now almost a heap of ruins."[2]

Sickness in Aracan. "By the end of the rainy season, a fourth of the men had died, and more than half the survivors were in hospital."[3] "In the course of August the deaths were, eight officers, seventy Europeans, four hundred and twenty sipahis, and two hundred camp followers, above seven hundred men. Between May and September two hundred and fifty-nine Europeans, out of one thousand five hundred, died; and of the rest, nearly four hundred were in hospital. Of eight thousand native troops, eight hundred and ninety-two had died, and three thousand six hundred and forty-eight of the sur-

[1] Hamilton's Gazetteer, and the authorities.
[2] Symes, Bruce, &c.
[3] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 113.

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vivors were in hospital. The peculiarities of the locality, combined with the effects of the climate, sufficiently accounted for the mortality."[1] His Majesty's 44th and 54th, amounting to one thousand and four men; five hundred and ninety-five died in the country in the course of eight months, and of those who quitted it not more than a half were alive at the end of twelve months.[2] In the expedition to Walchern (1809) there were one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight officers, and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-one native company's officers, and privates embarked. There were :—

	OFFICERS.	RANK AND FILE.
Killed or died	47	4,108
Reported sick	217	11,296
	264	15,404[3]

So that the deaths and sickness were greatest in the Burma war.

In July, 1824, the King of Siam having died, Captain Burney[4] was sent to congratulate the

[1] Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta, vol. ii. p. 201.

[2] Report by Major Tulloch, August, 1841.

[3] Return adjutant-general officer, (Horse Guards) 1st Feb. 1810. Annual Register.

[4] Narrative by Wilson, (1852) p. 230.

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new king upon his accession, and reached Bangkok on the 4th of December, 1825. After the signing of the treaty, Mr. Crawfurd[1] was appointed envoy to the court of Ava, to discuss with the ministers a commercial treaty. The mission returned to Rangoon by the middle of January, 1827, having effected the object for which it had been sent. All personal intercourse was then suspended. The manner in which the mission of Mr. Crawfurd was received at Ava offered little encouragement for the appointment of a successor,[2] and he dissuaded, in his report to the government of India, the enforcement of the article which provided for the permanent presence of a British envoy at the Burman capital. It was not till the end of 1829, when some delay in the payment of the instalments of the contribution due,[3] and some questions relating to the affairs of the two states, that Lieutenant-Colonel Burney, recently returned from Siam, was sent to Ava. The King of Ava becoming imbecile, if not insane, the administration was assumed by his favourite queen, with the support of her bro-

[1] Narrative by Wilson, p. 260. Bengal medical service.
[2] Narrative by Wilson, p. 265.
[3] Due (in two years from the treaty) on 24th Feb. 1828.

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ther, Menthagyee, to the total exclusion of the heir-apparent, and the brothers of the king, from all offices of trust and emolument. Towards the end of 1837 the parties came to an open rupture. It was known that the Prince of Tharawadi,[1] the king's eldest brother, was collecting men and arms in the city. He declared his quarrel was with Menthagyee alone, and that he had no intention or desire to injure his brother the king, or his nephew, the rightful heir to the throne.

Menthagyee[2] and his colleagues had recourse to the British resident; he repaired to the head quarters of Tharawadi who refused to accede to any terms of accommodation; he gave orders to the commanders of his troops, that they should consider the resident and all persons connected with him as his friends, and should carefully respect the residency in the event of having to storm the town. At last Tharawadi, after many acts of violence, assumed the title of king of Mouttshobo. He now determined to get rid of the residency altogether. He not only declared in council, but explicitly stated to the resident,

[1] He rallied the troops after Bandoola's death, and was desirous of negotiating.

[2] Narrative, p. 261.

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that he did not consider himself bound by the acts of his predecessor, and that he did not acknowledge the treaties made by his brother with the government of India.[1] That the Burmese officers had been frightened into signing the treaty of Yandabo. The resident applied for permission to withdraw from Ava to Rangoon, on the plea of impaired health, and reported the state of affairs to the government of India. This was exactly what Tharawadi desired.[2] Colonel Burney quitted Ava on the 17th of June, 1837, accompanied by the European traders and American missionaries. Tharawadi removed his capital to Kyung-myung, having expressed his determination to make Ava a heap of ruins, and forbidding any Europeans or Americans to accompany him to his new capital. Colonel Burney reached Rangoon on the 6th of July, and experienced much incivility from the Burman functionaries.

The government of India, thinking it possible that amicable relations might be restored by a conciliatory course of conduct, resolved on Colonel Burney's departure for Europe to despatch Colonel Benson[3] to Rangoon, having as his assistant

[1] Narrative, p. 272.

[2] Violence had been recommended by his adherents.

[3] Of the Bengal army, formerly military secretary to

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Captain M'Leod, who had been before in Ava; was personally known to the king and his ministers, and was well acquainted with the Burman language and manners. The experiment was not successful. Colonel Benson was at first received with some show of civility at Rangoon, where he arrived in July, 1838. An intimation met him at Prome that he would do well to remain there. The notice was in some degree unofficial; he resumed his route, and in October arrived at Amerapura where the court then was. The mission was not permitted to enter the city; and the envoy and suite were at times in peril of starvation. Tharawadi steadily refused to receive a British officer under the conditions of the treaty of Yandabo. He was admitted to an interview with the ministers, but an audience of the king was denied.

At last Colonel Benson finding his situation to be incompatible with the character and credit of his government, he quitted his irksome position in the beginning of 1839, and returned to Cal-

Lord W. Bentinck, Governor-general of India. Colonel Burney of the same army. Captain McLeod of the Madras army. Before Colonel Benson's arrival Tharawadi had put to death the heir apparent with his wives, and a number of his followers.

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cutta. Captain M'Leod, whom he left behind, was for a time rather better treated; he was admitted to an interview with Tharawadi; but this was in his own private character, and arose on the occurrence of a severe earthquake, from his desire to know how Europeans accounted for such phenomena. Captain M'Leod was at last compelled to retire to Rangoon, where he spent the remainder of the year: when continued neglect and insolence compelled the government of India to recal the mission.

In the middle of 1840, formidable disturbances arose in the north-west, chiefly among the Shan tribes. Tharawadi took occasion to get rid of some obnoxious persons, and the queen, her brother Menthagyee, and his daughter, with a number of their followers were publicly executed. Considerable apprehension was excited in the adjacent British dependencies towards the end of 1841, by the visit of Tharawadi to Rangoon, with a numerous and warlike train, which it was anticipated would be directed against Aracan or Tenasserim. Prudential measures were adopted against such a design. After laying the foundation of a new town in the vicinity of Rangoon, and paying a visit to Pegu, Tharawadi quitted

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Rangoon in January, 1842, and returned to Amerapura. Although averse to the British alliance, and anxious to vindicate the honour of the Burman arms and recover the lost provinces of his country, it does not appear that he ever seriously meditated a renewal of hostilities; he was aware of his inability to cope with the Indian government; and eventually fell a victim to the spirit of insubordination of which he had set the example.[1] Towards the end of 1845, Tharawadi resolved to announce his legitimate son as his successor; and to strengthen his claim by his marriage with the daughter of the old king, his brother. The measure was opposed by his eldest son, the prince of Prome; the prince was defeated, and put to death soon after. Tharawadi, addicted to intemperate habits, became so ferocious that his ministers treated him as insane, and raised the young prince to the chief authority, with the title of regent. Tharawadi died in confinement a few months after his deposal; but the regent refrained from assuming the royal title until after the death of the old king, which did not occur until the beginning of 1847. His nephew then became sovereign.

[1] Narrative, p. 279.

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Hopes were entertained of renewing the intercourse with Ava on the terms of the treaty, as some disposition was shown to relax the restrictions to which the trade, and the resort to Rangoon, had been subjected. The new king subsided into sensual indulgence, and experienced the fate of his father; having been deposed by one of the ministers, who placed himself upon the throne.

The revenues of the Tenasserim provinces are stated by Wilson[1] to be £55,000, in 1848-49. The revenue of Aracan in 1850-51, at £88,000. The value of the imports and exports of Moulmain in 1850-51, at nearly £600,000. The trade of Akyab in 1850-51, at £360,000. So that the trade is about £960,000. The revenue, £143,000. The population of Moulmain, fifty thousand; of Aracan, three hundred and forty-four thousand, nine hundred and fourteen, or three hundred and ninety-four thousand, nine hundred and fourteen souls, being an increase of about two hundred and fifty thousand since the year 1828. In the four years ending 1839-40, the revenue of the territory ceded by the Burmese, on the average

[1] Narrative p. 289, *Note* 15.

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revenue was only about £56,000.[1] The advantages gained by the war are not only to be regarded in a commercial point of view.[2] Admiral Suffrein, when he returned to France in 1784, told Louis XVI. that India could be best invaded by obtaining possession of Aracan.

State of British India.—1824. The tranquillization of Hindostan had been insured after the Mahrattah and Pindaree war of 1817-18, and had "thrown back upon the Company's territories a multitude of military adventurers,[3] who were natives of India;" and who could no longer "procure service in the mercenary bands of the Mahrattahs or Puthans.[4] The defects in the administration of civil justice, the ineffective police, and the deferred settlement of the revenue in the upper provinces,[5] produced general discontent; and in 1824, there was scarcely a district, in the

[1] Remarks on Indian Revenue, 1832-33 to 1839-40, p. 9, by the author.

[2] Narrative, p. 290, (note) says Aracan has become the granary of the countries along the Bay of Bengal.

[3] Notes on Indian affairs, by Hon. F. J. Shore, Bengal civil service, vol. i. p. 159.

[4] It was a wise resolution after the Punjab war 1848-49, to enlist Sikh soldiers in our regiments.

[5] The system of leases for thirty years works well.

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upper provinces in particular, in which a spirit of disaffection was not more or less manifest. To the north-west, disturbances broke out towards the end of 1824 in Cutch; which threatened to assume political importance, from the secret encouragement which the authors of them received from the ameers of Sindh." [1]

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 177. A considerable force was sent to Cutch in 1815. (Wilson, vol. viii. p. 102):—The ruler of that country became our ally.

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CHAPTER IV.

SIEGE OF BHURTPOOR.

SIEGE of Bhurtpoor.—1825-26. "The triumphs of the Marquis of Hastings had confirmed the disposition of the Jaut principality to look to the British government for protection.[1] The treaty with the Raja Runjet Sing (of Bhurtpoor, 1805) was faithfully observed by his successors, Ranadhir Sing, and Baldeo Sing; and the latter relied upon the government of India to defend the interests of his son, Bulwunt Sing, in the event of his death, while the latter was in his minority. At his earnest solicitation, the political agent at Delhi, Sir D. Ochterlony, consented to invest the boy with a khelat, or honorary dress, as a pledge of the recognition of his succession." The raja's infirm state of health, and his apprehension of the ambitious designs of his nephew, Durjan Sal,

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 183.

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induced him to make the request. The investiture was performed at Bhurtpoor early in 1824. A year afterwards, the raja died. The young raja, who was about five or six years old, succeeded, under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Ram Ratan Sing. A month after Baldeo Sing's death, Durjan Sal, the son of a younger brother of the late raja, seduced the soldiery to join his party, broke into the citadel, and killed the guardian, and seized the person of the young raja, and assumed the direction of affairs. Sir David addressed a proclamation to the Jauts, requiring them to withhold obedience from the usurper, and assured them of the support of a British force, which he at once assembled at Mathura, on the confines of the Bhurtpoor territory. Durjun Sal declined an invitation to visit the British cantonments, and place the young raja in the hands of the British agent. A respectable force was speedily assembled, and was about to move against the fortress, when the execution of the project was arrested by the supreme government.

This was in the month of July, 1825, while our extensive military operations in the war with Ava were undecided, and attended with great

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difficulties and very heavy expense.[1] Lord Amherst, Governor-general, did not admit of the existence of any obligation to uphold the claims of the minor raja. It was affirmed that the grant of the honorary dress had been made without the sanction of the supreme authority. It was observed that Durjun Sal only claimed the exercise of the regency. The majority of the supreme council "considered interference might become indispensable for the preservation of tranquillity in Hindustan." The sentiments of the Governor-general so far prevailed, that it was resolved to countermand the military preparations, and to recal the hostile declarations which had been published. Upon this decision being made known, Sir D. Ochterlony immediately resigned. He died at Meerut on the 15th July, 1825, aged sixty-eight years. "It is not unlikely that the mortification which he had experienced on this occasion, and the disappointment of the proud hope he had cherished of seeing Bhurtpoor fall before him, accelerated his decease."[2]

Wilson says that the force assembled by Sir

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 185.
[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 187.

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David, "however formidable, was confessedly inadequate to overcome a prolonged and national resistance. At the East India House, on the 19th December, 1826, on a vote of thanks to the army of Bhurtpoor, Sir J. Malcolm said that "if the siege had failed, it would in all human probability have added to the embarrassments of the Burmese war,[1] that of hostilities with almost every state of India."[2] The late Lord Metcalfe,[3] when a member of the supreme council of India, recorded his opinion that "the Burmese war produced an extraordinary sensation all over India, amounting to an expectation of our immediate downfall."[4] The operations against Bhurtpoor commenced on the 10th December, 1825. The Burmese signed the first treaty on the 3rd January, 1826. The employment of twenty-eight thousand men on a new enterprise,

[1] Bhurtpoor fell on 18th January, and the treaty with the Burmese was signed at Yandabo, on 24th February, 1826; the former may have partly influenced the latter event.

[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 189, note 1.

[3] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 181, note 1.

[4] At the beginning of the Mahrattah War, 1803-4, Company's paper was, at one time, at a discount of thirty-six per cent, but never since that period.

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against a fort before which we had failed after one hundred and nine days' continuance, may have caused the Burmese to make delays in regard to the treaty.

Sir C. Metcalfe[1] was recalled from Hyderabad, and succeeded the late Sir David as resident in Malwa and Rajputana. The opinion he gave in Calcutta was decidedly in favour of an effective support of the minor raja; that he should be acknowledged, and Durjan Sal removed upon a a suitable provision.[2] His recommendations (first

[1] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 191.

[2] He obtained five hundred rupees a month. By the 7th article of the treaty of 17th April, 1805, (Marquis Wellesley's Despatches, vol. iv. p. 636, Appendix,) we guaranteed the raja's country "against external enemies; the Maha raja hereby agrees, that if any misunderstanding should arise between him and the sircar (which means government) of any other chieftain, the Maha raja will in the first instance submit the case of dispute to the Honourable Company's government," &c. The clear object of this article was (as we always insert in treaties,) to prevent warlike operations between neighbouring chiefs. There were two parties within Bhurtpoor, and warlike operations between them, would have been calculated to cause many military vagabonds to join each party (had we not interfered) and have caused a disturbed state of the country. We always employed our troops in Oude to put down insurrections. In arguing that Durjan Sal only claimed the "exercise of the regency," they lost

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to try negotiations) were adopted. At length, war was determined upon, and Lord Combermere, the new commander-in-chief,[1] who was in Calcutta, went up the country dâk, and established his head-quarters at Muttra, on the 5th December, 1805. The army consisted of[2]—

	MEN.
Cavalry:—his Majesty's 11th and 16th light dragoons	1,212
3rd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, native levy	3,151
Foot:—his Majesty's 14th, 59th, and Hon. Company's European regiment .	1,959
Native infantry:—6th, 11th, 15th, 18th, 21st, 23rd, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 35th, 36th, 37th, 41st, 58th, 60th and 63rd.	15,511
Gorkhas, (Nusseree) . . .	200
Artillery:—Horse	816
Foot.—European, 576, native, 310	886
Gun Lascars	640
Sappers and miners	920
	25,295

sight of the fact, that he had destroyed the regent, and had no authority to make himself regent; which must have originated with the state or government, and not by the act of any individual, or by his own nomination of himself.

[1] Arrived in Calcutta, 2nd October, 1825.

[2] Narrative by Captain J. N. Creighton, his Majesty's 11th light dragoons, (1830) pp. 61—79.

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But, including irregular cavalry, &c., there were above twenty-seven thousand men.[1]

The siege-train:[2]—

16 twenty-four pounders.
20 eighteen-pounders.
4 twelve-pounders.
12 eight-inch howitzers.
46 eight-inch mortars.
12 ten-inch mortars.
2 thirteen-inch mortars.

112

Abundance of material; five hundred rounds to each mortar; one thousand rounds for each gun.

Horse artillery, and light field guns:—

14 twelve-pounders.
10 five and a-half inch howitzers.
26 six-pounders.

Total 162 guns and mortars.

The commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere.

The division from Muttra was commanded by Major-general Thomas Reynell, C.B. That from Agra was under Major-general Jasper Nicolls, C.B. The force of the enemy's garrison was estimated at twenty thousand men,[3] chiefly Rajputs and Jauts, with some Affghans. The greatest

[1] Journal of Lieut. (Colonel) W. N. Forbes, Engineers.
[2] Creighton, p. 9.
[3] Wilson, vol. ix: p. 193.

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security of the fortress was in the thickness and toughness of its walls, constructed of clay hardened in the sun.

The army assembled before Bhurtpoor on the 10th of December, 1825. In a northerly direction, some distance from the fort, and screened from it by an interjacent forest, towards the north-west, was the Moti Jhil; an extensive piece of water, capable of filling the ditches of the fortress, by sluices cut through the embankment within which the waters were confined. To prevent the enemy from opening channels through the bank, a party, consisting of a troop of horse artillery, of cavalry and infantry, with two companies of sappers and miners, were sent in advance; and drove away a small party of the enemy, and filled up sluices which had been recently opened. The object was to prevent the enemy filling the ditch with water, as was the case in the time of Lord Lake in 1805.[1] The post at the Jhil was maintained during the siege. Ex-

[1] Some officers on the staff in Lord Lake's army thought it were practicable to drain the water out of the ditch; but unless the country at a distance from the fort was much lower than the ground near the fort, it is difficult to understand how the drainage could be effected.

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cept in a few places of little depth or extent, the ditch continued dry.

From the extent of the fortress the complete investment could not take place, but posts were established at certain intervals. The batteries were opened on the 24th of December. Although the fire of the breaching batteries produced sensible damage, yet the nature of the materials of which the walls were constructed, prevented their being breached. The earth *crumbled* down, but did not *fall* down in masses as is effected by breaching a brick wall.[1] Hence, recourse was had to mining. Lieutenant (now Colonel) W. N. Forbes, of the engineers, had prepared a plan before Lord Combermere left Calcutta.[2]

[1] Many shot were embedded. A party tried one night to get up one of the breaches, but found it steep and inaccessible. They sunk in the pulverised earth at every attempt to ascend.

[2] Wilson (p. 197, note 1,) alludes to the claim of the late Major-General Sir A. Galloway, who was at the siege in 1805, and in 1825—but his memoir was given to Lord Combermere when before the fort,—Lieutenant (Colonel) Forbes, when in Calcutta, gave his plan to Lord C. and the credit is due to him. The latter was wounded and disabled near the Jhil. He had been instructed in mining under Sir C. Paseley, before he went to India. Sir A. Galloway published a pamphlet on the attack on mud forts; and was wounded in the pioneers at the first siege.

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There were several mines. On the 17th of January, 1826, the largest mine, containing ten thousand pounds of gunpowder, was loaded and exploded. Both breaches were formed by mines. The storm took place on the 18th of January, 1826. The column for the right breach was commanded by Major-general Reynell. That for the left breach, by Major-general Nicolls. A column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Delamaine (twelve hundred), stormed the Jangina gate, to the right of the right breach. An intermediate column (five hundred), under Lieutenant-Colonel T. Wilson.[1] The two main columns amounted to seven thousand men. The reserve column was under Brigadier-general J. W. Adams. Altogether, nearly eleven thousand men were employed in the storming columns and reserves.

All the storming columns succeeded. The citadel was surrendered. The enemy generally fought with resolution,[2] and the artillery-men mostly fell by their guns. Of the enemy seven thousand[3] were slain. The killed and wounded

[1] Lieutenant-General T. Wilson, C.B.

[2] Wilson, vol. ix. p. 202.

[3] "Not a chief of any consequence escaping. The enemy lost about seven thousand men." We had near six hundred killed and wounded. Extract Letter, date 26th January, 1826, from Bhurtpoor, from an officer of high rank to the author.

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were estimated at many more. Our loss was one hundred and three killed, and four hundred and sixty-six wounded (total, five hundred and sixty-nine). Brigadier-general Edwards, Captain Armstrong, his Majesty's 14th, Captain Pitman, his Majesty's 59th, and Captain Brown, 31st native infantry, were killed. The day after the storm Lord Combermere and Sir C. Metcalfe entered the citadel, and on the 20th placed the young raja on the throne of his ancestors. The care of his person was confided to the principal widow of the late raja, as nominal regent. A resident was appointed. Thus, under the prompt and decided measures adopted by Lord Combermere, was Bhurtpoor captured in forty days, which had, in 1805, cost us the loss of three thousand men killed and wounded; the result of four unsuccessful attacks, and the detention of the army, under Lord Lake, for one hundred and nine days. Lord Lake, after his unvaried successes, thought he might hazard an attack on this fort with a very small and inefficient train of artillery. It enabled the natives to say that Bhurtpoor could not be taken,[1] and the failure

[1] A native said it was written in their books that Bhurtpoor could not be taken.

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encouraged the killedars of other forts to hold out.

It is said that they had weakened some part of the fort since 1805, by adding more bastions. Sir D. Ochterlony considered that, as there were two parties within the walled town, he had every chance of success. It was supposed that the party opposed to Durjan Sal would have admitted our troops into the fort. A well known staff-officer, who was at the siege in 1805, even in 1825 considered the blowing open of the gates would have insured success at the time Sir David proposed the attack. The state of the Burma war in July, 1825, and in December of the same year, was very different. At the former period we had not advanced from Rangoon; in the latter period overtures for peace had taken place early in October, 1825, so that, independent of the inconvenience of operations in the rainy season, and as to the state of the war in Burma, the period selected for the attack was the best. A failure in 1825-26 would have been of very great importance, and would have created a great sensation in India.

Lord Combermere acted upon the principle of carrying the fortress in a style which should con-

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vince the natives of India of the invincibility of the English power. His lordship, who had seen much service, particularly in the Peninsular war, and who was known to be energetic in all his military operations, exhibited that decision of action, which so eminently appertains to his character. In the command of the British cavalry in the Peninsular war, under the Duke of Wellington (with whom he had served in India in 1799), he was trusted with the principal cavalry arrangements of the army before the enemy; hence, and from his general knowledge of warfare, he exhibited to India the resources of the British government in the operations against Bhurtpoor, in a manner that ensured success. His lordship was made a viscount on the fall of Bhurtpoor; where the prize money amounted to forty-eight lakhs of rupees (£480,000); and his lordship obtained for the deposit of the prize money, from the government, five per cent.,[1] by which the shares of all were increased.

[1] Mr. Wilson (vol. ix p. 204, note 2) alludes to communications in a Calcutta newspaper, the Englishman, 1847, forming part of a series of papers on the operations of the Bengal army in India, to which it were very desirable to have access in a more commodious form." The present author published those articles from, April 1844, to April

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The expenditure of shot and shells at Bhurtpoor was, from 24th December, 1825, to 18th January, 1826, on twenty-six days,—

Shot	42,215
Shells	17,060
Shrapnells . .	1,096
Grape . . .	693
Case	404
Carcasses . .	4
Grand total . .	61,472

Sometimes one hundred rounds each gun per day. Rendered unserviceable :—

9 out of 16	24-pounders
16 „ 26	18-pounders
1 10-inch mortar, out of 10	
7 8-inch mortars „	44
6 8-inch howitzers „	12

1848, "Operations of the Bengal Army in India and on Foreign Service," from the years 1756 to 1840. They extended to at least two thousand five hundred pages octavo. They might be much curtailed. He would contribute papers, if duly noticed, towards any proposed work on military operations in India.

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CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITION TO AFFGHANISTAN.

THE expedition to Affghanistan.—1838. Sir J. M'Neill, the British envoy in Persia, had announced the advance of a large Persian army against Herat in 1837, under the King of Persia (Mahomed Shah), to Lord Palmerston. It consisted of forty-five thousand men, and eighty guns. It was accompanied by a Russian regiment. There were Russian staff-officers also, and the Russian envoy was present. The Persian army drove in the garrison out-posts at Herat on the 22nd of November, 1837. It was, therefore, considered that there was a design to invade India. Lord Broughton has proclaimed himself as the author of the expedition,[1] which it was resolved to send from India. At all events, his lordship proved that the war against Dost Mahomed, of Cabool,

[1] Speech in the year 1851. He was President of the Board of Control, and Lord Palmerston Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

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did not originate with the East India Company. Though the measure did not originate with them, they had to pay the cost of the war.

The expedition was determined on in June, 1838. Lieutenant-colonel Sir A. Burnes had been deputed on a mission to Dost Mahomed Khan, the chief of Cabool; and had returned from Cabool in June, 1838. The proclamation,[1] dated the 1st of October, 1838, stated that the mission to Cabool was purely of a commercial nature, and alluded to the treaties with the ameers of Sindh, the nawab of Bahawulpore, and Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, for opening the navigation of the Indus. The object[2] of Sir Alexander Burnes' mission was, "to invite the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Affghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those treaties." That[3] Dost Mahomed gave "his undisguised support to the Persian design on Affghanistan." That the chiefs of Candahar (brothers of Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool,[4]) had "avowed

[1] Hough's Narrative of the March and Operations of the Army of the Indus." 1841, London. Appendix, No. 1.

[2] Hough, par. 3.

[3] Hough, par. 6.

[4] Hough, par. 9.

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their adherence to the Persian policy," in opposition to the rights and interests of the British nation in India. The possession of Herat would, no doubt, have facilitated any ulterior views of Persia on Affghanistan, by the possession of Candahar and of Cabool: which would be the gaining of so many advanced positions towards India; opening the road to the frontier of India. Last, the proclamation[1] stated that "his Majesty, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk (whom it was resolved to restore to his throne) will enter Affghanistan, surrounded by his own troops." And concluding with the intention, that "when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn." The treaty included Shah Shoojah, the Sikh ruler, and the British.

The Army of the Indus.

Cavalry brigade of the Bengal column:—

His Majesty's 16th lancers, 2nd regiment light cavalry, 3rd regiment light cavalry; Brigadier Arnold.

4th local horse, and detachment of Skinner's 1st local horse, not attached to the brigade.

[1] Hough par. 14.

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Major-general J. Thackwell, 3rd light dragoons, commanding the cavalry of the army.

Artillery :—

2nd troop 2nd brigade horse artillery; 4th company 2nd battalion artillery; 2nd company 6th battalion artillery.

Camel battery.

Two companies sappers and miners.

Infantry division, Bengal column, Major-general Sir W. Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H. :—

1st brigade—His Majesty's 13th light infantry, 16th native infantry, and 48th native infantry. Colonel Sale, C.B., 13th light infantry, brigadier.

2nd brigade—31st, 42nd, and 43rd native infantry. Major-general Nott, brigadier.

4th brigade[1]—1st European regiment, 35th and 37th native infantry. Lieut.-Colonel Roberts, brigadier.

Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk's contingent :—

Horse artillery, two troops; cavalry, two regiments; infantry, five regiments. Major-general Simpson, commanding.

[1] Lots were drawn by the 3rd, 4th, and 5th brigades: and they fell to the 4th brigade, on a reduction of the amount of force to be sent.

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Bombay column, Major-general Willshire, C.B.:—

Cavalry—Wing of his Majesty's 4th light dragoons, 1st light cavalry, Poona local horse (unattached). Lieut.-colonel J. Scott, brigadier.

Artillery—3rd and 4th troop horse field battery. Brigadier Stevenson.

Infantry—His Majesty's 2nd and 17th foot, 19th native infantry.

Sappers and miners.

Chief Bengal staff:

Major P. Craigie, deputy adjutant-general.

Major W. Garden, dep. quarter-master-general.

Captain George Thompson, chief engineer.

Major Parsons, deputy commissary-general.

J. Atkinson, Esq., superintending surgeon.

Chief Bombay staff:—

Major Keith, deputy adjutant-general.

Major N. Campbell dep. quarter-master-general.

Captain A. C. Peat, chief engineer.

Captain D. Davidson, assistant comm^{y}.-general.

R. H. Kennedy, Esq., superintending surgeon.

His Excellency General Sir H. Fane, G.C.B., commander-in-chief in India was to have commanded the expedition; but on the 22nd of October, 1838, it was known that the king of Persia had raised the siege of Herat on the

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9th September, and marched from Herat towards his capital; in consequence, the force was reduced, and the 2nd Bengal division was left at Ferozpoor. His Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir J. Keane, commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, was appointed to command the army,[1] and Major-general Sir W. Cotton held the command till Sir J. Keane joined.

A force, with Shahzada Timoor, under Lieut.-colonel C. M. Wade, amounting to about ten thousand, including the Sikh contingent, was to proceed through the Punjab, *viâ* the Khyber Pass, to Cabool.

Major-general Duncan, with the 2nd division or reserve force, at Ferozpoor, of five thousand men, was to advance, if required. The Bengal column, under Major-general Sir W. Cotton, was to march *via* Sindh, through the Bolan Pass, to Candahar; thence to Ghuznee and Cabool. The Bengal column (nine thousand five hundred men), including followers, amounted to thirty-eight thousand men. A Bombay force had arrived in

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel R. Macdonald, K.H., Deputy Adjutant-general, Q. T., Military Secretary.

Sindh, and was increased; so that when Sir J. Keane marched to join us at Quetta, he left about three thousand men, as a reserve, in Sindh. Nearly twenty thousand men entered Affghanistan by the month of July, 1839. The shah marched with his contingent in advance of the Bengal troops, till we got into the country near the Bolan Pass.

The Bengal column marched from Ferozpoor on the 10th of December, 1838. The head-quarters were established at Rohree, in Sindh, on the 24th January, 1839. As the ameers had not signed the treaty granting us a passage through their country, and permitting us to hold certain military positions during the operations in Affghanistan, part of our force marched[1] to join Sir J. Keane; but returned, after making seven marches towards Hyderabad, to Sukkur, and crossed the Indus over an excellent bridge of boats. The ameers having signed the treaty, it was a great object to get through the pass.[2] Marched through the pass in six days. Arrived at Quetta on the 26th March, 1839. Lieut.-

[1] Having got the fort of Buckkur in our possession.

[2] Narrative, (Hough) p. 61, about fifty-eight miles long.

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general Sir J. Keane,[1] with the 1st Bombay cavalry, arrived at Quetta on the 6th of April. Having got through the Kojuk Pass, the head-quarters marched on the 18th April, and on the 26th April arrived at Candahar, which the chiefs had deserted.[2]

The Bombay column arrived at Candahar[3] on the 4th of May, 1839. On the 8th of May, the installation of the king took place, when all the troops were paraded; and on ascending his throne was saluted by one hundred and one guns. On the 21st June,[4] Major Todd marched with a mission to Shah Kamran, at Herat. Two lakhs of rupees were sent, to be employed, partly, in the improvement of the fortifications of that fortress, which had been so gallantly defended by the late Major Pottinger, of the Bombay artillery. The army, having obtained a supply of provisions,[5] horses and cattle, and leaving a garrison in Candahar, marched on the 27th of June, 1839, from that city[6] for Ghuznee.

The army arrived before Ghuznee on the 21st

[1] Narrative, p. 69.
[2] Narrative, p. 99.
[3] Narrative, p. 103.
[4] Narrative, p. 125.
[5] The king allowed the standing crops to be cut for the troops
[6] Narrative, p. 129.

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July, 1829.[1] Changed ground during the evening to the Cabool side. A reconnoisance was made on the 21st, and on the 22nd; when it was resolved to attack the fort by blowing open the gate. The storm took place on the 23rd of July.[2] Three hundred pounds of powder, in twelve sand-bags, were employed in blowing open the gate, which proved successful. Our loss was seventeen men killed; eighteen officers and one hundred and forty-seven men wounded (total one hundred and eighty-two). About five hundred of the enemy were killed in the fort and town, and one hundred outside by the cavalry; one thousand six hundred prisoners; the number of wounded not ascertained. Leaving a garrison in Ghuznee, the army marched on the 30th July, 1809, for Cabool.[3] The Dost having fled from Cabool with about two thousand men, and left his guns behind, the latter were captured. On the 3rd of August, a party was sent to endeavour to capture the Dost, under Captain Outram,[4] and eleven other officers, consisting of

[1] Narrative, p. 163.
[2] Narrative, p. 174.
[3] Narrative, p. 239.
[4] Lieutenant-colonel Outram, C.B.

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eight hundred horsemen, including five hundred and fifty Affghan horse. The party returned unsuccessful to Cabool on the 18th of August, the Dost having pushed on beyond Bameean and the mountain range. Hajjee Khan Kakur, who accompanied the party (and had been Governor of Bameean under the Dost, and now taken into favour by the king), proved himself to be a traitor. He delayed the advance of the party, so as to allow of the escape of Dost Mahomed. Arrived at Cabool on the 6th of August, 1839, and the king[1] made his entry into Cabool in state the next day.

On the 3rd of September, the Shahzada,[2] Timoor (the king's eldest son), and Lieut.-colonel Wade, with the troops, arrived. Having forced the Khyber Pass and taken the fort of Ali Musjid,[3] with the loss of one hundred and eighty killed and wounded, on the 27th of July, 1839, they left a garrison in the fort, and marched to Cabool. This force was to move on Cabool *via* Peshawur, while Sir J. Keane marched *via* Ghuznee, so as to reach Cabool from the east, while

[1] Narrative, p. 247.

[2] Narrative, p. 257.

[3] Narrative, pp. 219-28. The Khyber Pass, twenty-eight miles long.

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Sir J. Keane did from the west; and so to arrange the operation, as to get through the pass by the time Ghuznee should be taken. Ghuznee having fallen, some time was employed in arranging with the chiefs for a free passage for our troops and convoys, by securing certain annual payments of money to the chiefs.

On the 17th of September, the king held a durbar, for the purpose of conferring the Order of the Dooranee Empire on his Excellency Lieut.-general Sir J. Keane, on the envoy, on Major-general Sir W. Cotton, Lieut.-colonel Sir A. Burnes, Lieut.-colonel Wade, and on other officers. The order was composed of three classes.[1] The Bombay column marched on the 18th of September, 1839, from Cabool, *en route* for Quetta and Khelat.[2]

On the 2nd of October it was decided what troops were to be left in Affghanistan. Major-general Sir W. Cotton was left in command. A troop of horse artillery, his Majesty's lancers, 3rd light cavalry, 4th local horse, and some companies of infantry, returned to India with his

[1] Narrative, p. 262. The king proposed medals for the troops, which were issued, and leave given by her Majesty to wear the order.

[2] Narrative, p. 266.

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Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir J. Keane, who marched from Cabool on the 15th of October, 1839,[1] *via* the Khoord Cabool, and Khyber passes, and the Punjab. On the 20th of December, we heard of the capture of Khelat[2] on the 13th of November, 1839, by the Bombay column under Major-general Willshire, with a loss of one hundred and thirty-eight killed and wounded. On the 1st of January, 1840, his Excellency Sir J. Keane[3] was invited to visit Lahore; being unwell, he sent a deputation of officers. Before leaving Lahore the British officers were shown a large portion of the Sikh army, consisting of thirty-two battalions of infantry of eight hundred men each; six thousand cavalry; ninety-six horse artillery, and sixty-four field-pieces; and a large body of irregular troops: a total of about thirty-one thousand six hundred men and one hundred and sixty guns. On the 2nd of January, 1840, the order was issued for breaking up the army of the Indus, and the return of the troops with the Commander-in-chief to their respective stations.

Dost Mahomed Khan, after his flight from

[1] Narrative, p. 293.
[2] Narrative, Appendix, p. 24.
[3] Narrative, p. 361.

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Cabool as we advanced to it in August, 1839, went to Khoolum, &c., and eventually arrived at Bokhara, where he and his second son Akbar Khan[1] were detained as prisoners; whence they escaped. The Dost had collected troops on the 17th of September, 1840.[2] Brigadier Dennie defeated the Dost near Bameean; the Dost and his son Mahomed Afzul Khan effected their escape from the field of battle. The brigadier had only five hundred infantry, the Dost had about six thousand, chiefly Oosbegs. On the 2nd of November, 1840, Major-general Sale[3] encountered the Dost who had taken possession of some forts in the direction of Purwan, whence he was proceeding to effect a junction with his son Mahomed Afzul Khan. The general's advanced column consisted of four companies of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, and three companies of native infantry, two squadrons of the 2nd Bengal light cavalry, and two hundred of Anderson's horse. The enemy were computed at five hundred horse and three thousand five hundred foot. Owing to the mis-

[1] Hyder Khan, the son, who was governor of Ghuznee, was taken to Bombay by Sir John Keane, as well as Hajjee Khan Kakur.

[2] "Annual Register," p. 564, Despatches.

[3] "Annual Register," p. 565.

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conduct of the 2nd cavalry the Dost escaped. The ex-Cabool chief finding he had no hope of recovering his position at Cabool, surrendered himself[1] to Sir W. Macnaghten, the envoy, on the 2nd of December, 1840. Dost Mahomed was escorted to India, and was located in Calcutta.

Russian expedition to Khiva in 1840.[2]—Russia had declared war in December, 1839, against Khiva. Khiva is on the borders of the Caspian Sea. A large Russian force, under General Brelowsky, reached Khiva in the latter end of March, 1840. The troops halted on the borders of the Steppes for some weeks, in consequence of the heavy snow that had fallen; and afterwards came down the sea of Aral to Khiva. Their numbers were estimated at nearly thirty thousand men, with twelve batteries of artillery. In various encounters which they had with the soldiers of the khan, the latter were invariably worsted; but the Russians were much annoyed and galled by the species of *Guerilla* warfare kept up by their opponents. Captain Abbott was at this time the British envoy at the court of the khan of Khiva, and the latter wished to make use of his services

[1] "Annual Register," p. 567.

[2] "Annual Register," 1840, pp. 230—232.

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as a mediator between himself and the Russians; professing his willingness to give up slavery and surrender the Russian slaves within his power; but declaring that he had no means of paying the demands made upon him by way of compensation by that government.[1]

Major Pottinger,[2] who had arrived from Calcutta in May 1841, was appointed political agent in Kohistan. The turbulent chiefs had maintained their independence against Dost Mahomed, and yielded an unwilling obedience to the king. The major prognosticated the coming storm. About the end of September he came to Cabool, to impress upon the envoy that, unless strong measures of prevention were speedily adopted, he considered a rise in Kohistan in the highest degree probable. The Giljye tribes between Ghuznee and Candahar had never been properly subdued. To the west of Candahar, a notorious freebooter had collected seven thousand followers.

[1] See a very interesting account of Major James Abbott's effort to release the Russian prisoners at Khiva. He nearly fell a sacrifice to his humane exertions. His subsequent admirable political and military exertions have not been adequately rewarded. His narrative is very interesting.

[2] Eyre's "Military Operations at Cabool," 2nd Edition, 1842, pp. 1—5.

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But there was danger nearer Cabool.[1] Early in October, three Giljye chiefs of note suddenly quitted Cabool, after plundering a rich cafila at Tezeen,[2] and took up a strong position in the difficult defile of Khoord-Cabool, about ten miles from the capital: thus blocking up the pass, and cutting off our communication with Hindostan. Certain allowances made to these chiefs had been reduced; and to this has been partly imputed the hostility of these chiefs.

More troops. The late Brigadier Shelton marched from India in the beginning of 1841 in command of a brigade, consisting of his Majesty's 44th regiment, and two native corps, the 5th and 54th native infantry. On reaching Jellalabad, he was detached to the valley of Nazian, to compel the chiefs to pay obedience to the king's authority. After he had effected his object, he proceeded to Cabool. Major-general Sir W. Cotton had quitted the command in Affghanistan, and was succeeded by Major-general Elphinstone, who assumed the command in April 1841.[3] The state of the pass

[1] Eyre's "Military Operations," p. 8.

[2] In the retreat the Cabool force here escaped the effects of the snow.

[3] Eyre, p. 1.

caused troops to be detached on the 9th October under Colonel Monteath, C.B.[1] He was attacked at the entrance of the pass. On the 11th, General Sale marched with her Majesty's 13th light infantry. The pass remained in such a disturbed state, and was so occupied by the Giljyes, that the return of General Sale's brigade was deemed impracticable. He retreated to Jellalabad, where he remained during the whole period, till relieved by General Pollock in April 1842.

The outbreak of the rebellion at Cabool[2] took place on the morning of the 2nd November, 1841, when Sir A. Burnes, the political agent residing in the city, was murdered, as well as his brother, and Lieutenant Broadfoot. The treasury of Captain Johnson, the commissariat officer of the shah's contingent, was plundered and set on fire. Brigadier Shelton was in camp with a force between the cantonments[3] and the Balla Hissar, and city of Cabool; and was ordered to proceed to the Balla Hissar with a detachment.[4] But

[1] Eyre, p. 7. [2] Eyre, p. 19.

[3] Not built when the author left Cabool, in October 1839, with Lord Keane.

[4] Eyre, p. 20. One company his Majesty's 44th foot, a wing 54th native infantry, 6th regiment Shah's infantry, and four horse artillery guns.

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it was not till the next afternoon, that two companies, and two horse artillery guns, were sent from cantonments, with a view to aid Brigadier Shelton in an attack upon the city. The latter detachment never reached its destination. The shah detached about three hundred of his own men, with two guns, into the city; but they failed in putting down the insurrection. No other attempt was made. On the morning of the 9th November, Brigadier Shelton was ordered into cantonment, with part of his force.[1] On the 10th of November, the brigadier made an attack upon the Rika-bashee fort, and succeeded in capturing it, and obtaining a quantity of grain; but with a loss of about two hundred men, killed and wounded. The enemy appeared, on the 13th, on the heights near the cantonments. Our operations against them were not effective.[2] On the 15th November, Major Pottinger, and Lieutenant Houghton, adjutant of the Gorkha regiment stationed at Charekar, in Kohistan, came into cantonments, both wounded; the corps having been cut up: the rebellion having extended to that quarter soon after the 2nd of November.[3] A small affair took place on the 22nd November,

[1] Eyre, p. 53. [2] Eyre, p. 62. [3] Eyre, p. 68.

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near the village of Beymaroo, near the cantonments. It was resolved to make a more decided attack on the 23rd of November.

For the attack on the heights of Beymaroo, on the 23rd of November, 1841, there were about one thousand three hundred and fifty men, but of infantry only nine hundred men[1] and one gun. Brigadier Shelton commanded. Another gun and reinforcements had been solicited. They were not sent. It is the opinion of an officer who was in the cantonment, that five hundred men might have been sent with safety to the cantonments; and that such a reinforcement would have driven the enemy from the heights near the cantonments. Instead of which the enemy were pouring in armed men in great numbers from the city. A good opportunity was lost for making a vigorous attack on the enemy. This was the last attack made by the British, though the Affghans often crowned the Beymaroo hills, and brought up guns, but usually retired in the evening. Akbar Khan arrived at Cabool on the night of the 22nd of November, 1841, from Bameean (ninety-six miles from Cabool), where he had been since the beginning of October.

[1] Eyre, p. 101. Seventeen weak companies.

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They lost the grain depot near the city, on the 2nd of November; and on the 4th of November[1] that close to the cantonment, was allowed to be captured by the enemy. It was supposed that there was much grain in the Bala Hissar. This is a point much disputed, and is very doubtful. It was, as early as the 16th of November,[2] proposed to leave the cantonment and retire into the Bala Hissar, in the belief that plenty of provisions would be found there, or be obtained from the city. As a place of security there was no doubt as to the advantage of its position, and as affording rest to the troops. The objectors to the measure were of opinion of its being too late, after the enemy had gained confidence in their attacks, and could command the road by which the movement must be made. Early in December the forts near cantonment had been occupied by the enemy. Brigadier Shelton considered that the Bala Hissar should have been occupied immediately on the outbreak taking place.

Negotiations. The propositions for negotiations[3] occurred as early as the 8th of December, 1841. The troops did not retreat till the 6th of

[1] Eyre, p. 43. [2] Eyre, p. 89. [3] Eyre, p. 132.

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January, 1842. On the 11th of December, 1841,[1] we agreed to evacuate the country. On the 13th of December[2] we evacuated the Bala Hissar, by withdrawing the 54th Native Infantry from it. On the 16th, the magazine and forts near the cantonment were given up. On the 19th of December[3] orders were sent to Ghuznee to evacuate that fortress. On the 23rd of December Sir[4] W. Macnaghten held the fatal interview with Mahomed Akbar Khan and other chiefs, at which he was murdered. Major Pottinger, at the request of Major-general Elphinstone, assumed the office of political agent and adviser.[5] Letters were received on the 26th of December from Captain Mackeson, political agent at Peshawur, announcing the march of strong reinforcements from India. But this was a distant prospect of relief. The late envoy had promised fourteen lakhs of rupees to the chiefs. The general convened a council of war, at which it was unanimously determined to renew the negotiations that had been commenced by Sir W. Macnaghten, and that the sums promised to the chiefs by that functionary, previous to his mur-

[1] Eyre, p. 136. [2] Eyre, p. 145. [3] Eyre, p. 151.
[4] Eyre, p. 155. [5] Eyre, p. 182.

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der, should be paid.[1] On the 29th of December, several officers, as hostages, were given up to the chiefs. Guns and the greater part of our treasure were made over, and on the 30th the remainder of the sick were sent into the city under medical charge of Drs. Campbell and Berwick; Lieutenant Evans, her Majesty's 44th, being placed in command. Preparations were made for the retreat from Cabool. The chiefs had promised, three weeks before the retreat, two thousand camels and four hundred yaboos — some were sent, but when required they were not all forthcoming. The state of the snow in the direction of Ghuznee, prevented the brigade from Candahar reaching Cabool, as had been directed.

Retreat from Cabool. 6th of January, 1842. The retreat took place on the 6th of January, 1842, at 9 A.M. The amount of the British force was[2] four thousand five hundred fighting men. The camp-followers were about twelve thousand men, besides women and children.

[1] These bills were drawn, but the Indian government refused to pay them. The chiefs broke their word, and were entitled to nothing.

[2] Eyre, p. 196.

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The advance moved off at nine A.M. The great loss in the retreat was in consequence of the delay in marching; on the 6th they marched only five miles;[1] on the 7th they halted at Bootkhak, only ten miles from the cantonments. On the 8th they got through the Khoord-Cabool Pass, having marched nineteen miles from Cabool: they had snow. On the 9th Akbar Khan caused the force to halt. On the 10th (fifth day) they reached the Tezeen valley at four p. m., having lost,[2] including followers, twelve thousand men. They had marched above twelve miles; in the evening they marched the same distance, or total, nearly twenty-six miles. Now, had they marched thirty-two miles by the evening of the 6th of January, they would have reached the Teezen valley that day; and have saved the suffering from the effects of the snow and cold for three days. If they could march twenty-six miles in one day, after so much suffering, they could have marched thirty-two miles the first day, when they had more strength and supplies of food. They were not attacked till the afternoon of the 7th, so that, by a quick advance, they would have had four thousand fighting men

[1] Eyre, p. 200. [2] Eyre, p. 221.

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in the Tezeen valley,[1] without suffering from the snow and cold; and, under any circumstances, have reached Jellalabad with three thousand men: where, then, there would have been a total force of five thousand men. In the spring of 1842 they could have aided the advance of Sir George Pollock, by commanding one end of the pass, while he moved up by the other from Peshawur. There were one hundred and two officers killed at Cabool, and during the retreat; and one hundred and two officers, soldiers, ladies, women, and children, who were released in September, 1842, after Sir G. Pollock's arrival at Cabool. Dr. Brydon was the only officer who reached Jellalabad in safety. It was resolved[2] by the Governor-general in council, on the 4th of February, 1842, to add a 10th company to every regiment of native infantry of the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

[1] The author published a review of the operations during the outbreak in November 1841, and during the retreat from Cabool in January 1842. Calcutta Englishman's office, 1849. He marched that route with Lord Keane in October 1839, on his return to India; and therefore knows the route.

[2] "Blue Book," Affghanistan, 1843, p. 118.

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This was preparatory to an advance again into Affghanistan.

Brigadier Wilde's force.—Brigadier Wilde, with the 30th, 53rd, 60th, and 64th native infantry, about three thousand five hundred men, crossed the Punjab about the 20th November, and reached the left bank of the Indus on the 20th December, 1841. He reached Peshawur on the 27th. He advanced by Jumrood, near the entrance of the Khyber Pass. The brigadier, on the 15th of January, 1842,[1] detached two of his four regiments to Ali Musjid. The object had been to prevent the fort falling into the hands of the Khyberees. Three hundred and fifty bullock-loads of grain had been sent, but only about sixty loads arrived. Lieut.-colonel Tulloch was afterwards despatched with the two other corps (53rd and 64th), to facilitate the retreat of the two corps formerly sent. The troops could not hold out at Ali Musjid without an adequate supply of provisions; hence the operation was a failure. In the latter case, the heights were crowned. No guns were originally sent with the force, and the Sikh guns, lent to the force, broke down. Captain (Lieutenant-colonel)

[1] "Blue Book," p. 129.

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Mackeson, political agent, wrote,[1] "Had this force been sent up in an efficient state as to ammunition and carriage, and with cavalry and artillery, it might, at the time of its arrival here, have advanced through the Khyber Pass to the support of Major-general Sale's force at Jellalabad. The Afreedee tribes had not, up to that time, heard of our troops having evacuated Cabool; and they would have allowed Brigadier Wilde's force to pass through the Khyber unmolested for a sum of money; neither had they at the time organized any opposition."

It was resolved to send General Pollock with a large force.

General Pollock's force.

Horse artillery—3rd troop, 1st brigade; 3rd troop, 2nd brigade.

Cavalry—His Majesty's 3rd light dragoons, 1st and 10th light cavalry, detachments of the 5th light cavalry, 3rd irregular cavalry, party of the 1st and 4th irregular cavalry.

Infantry—His Majesty's 9th, 13th, and 31st foot; 6th, 26th, 30th, 33rd, 35th, 63rd, 60th, and 64th native infantry.

[1] "Blue Book," p. 138, paragraph 2.

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Foot artillery—2nd company 2nd battalion, 2nd and 4th companies of the 6th battalion.

Sappers and miners. Jezailchees.

Forcing the Khyber Pass, 5th of April, 1842. —The troops, under Major-general Pollock,[1] marched off at half-past three A.M. on the 5th of April, 1842. The enemy had for some days appeared in great numbers at the mouth of the pass, which they had fortified with a strong breastwork of stones and bushes. The hills on the right and left were rocky and precipitous, presenting great natural obstacles to the ascent of troops. To gain the summit of these heights, defended as they were by a numerous body of the enemy, was an undertaking of considerable difficulty. The right and left columns moved off simultaneously with the main column, intended to assault the entrance; but were compelled to make a considerable detour to the right and left, to enable them to commence the ascent.

The right column[2] of twelve companies, under Lieut.-colonel A. B. Taylor, K.H., 9th foot, and Major Anderson, 64th native infantry. The

[1] "Blue Book," p. 201.

[2] Four companies 9th foot, four companies 26th, and four companies 64th native infantry.

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left column of twelve companies,[1] under Lieut.-colonel Moseley, 64th, and Major Huish, 26th native infantry; led by Captain Ferris, 12th native infantry, and four hundred Jezailchees. Both columns, after considerable opposition, which they overcame in a most gallant style, succeeded in routing the enemy, and gaining possession of the crest of the hills on either side. While the flanking columns were in progress on the heights, Captain Alexander, horse artillery, was ordered to place the guns in position to throw shrapnell among the enemy when opportunity offered; which assisted much in their discomfiture. To assist the right column, Brigadier Wilde was detached with seven companies[2] to attack the heights in front, but they were unable to gain a footing on the summit, owing to the steepness of the ascent. When the heights on the right and left were gained possession of, the main column advanced to the mouth of the pass, and commenced destroying the barrier which the enemy had evacuated on perceiving their position was

[1] Four companies 9th foot, four companies 26th, and four companies 64th native infantry, four hundred Jezailchees.

[2] Grenadier company 9th foot, and six companies 53rd native infantry.

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turned; a portion of the right and left columns being left to keep the heights, under the command of Lieut.-colonel Moseley and Major Anderson respectively. Major Huish and Lieut.-colonel Taylor continued their advance to crown the hills in front and on each side, which were covered with the enemy, who appeared determined to contest every inch of ground; but nothing could resist the gallantry of our troops who carried everything before them. The enemy's force was estimated at about ten thousand men. The baggage got through the pass without the loss of a single baggage animal. The rear-guard met with no opposition. The British loss was one officer killed, three wounded, and one hundred and thirty-five men killed, wounded, and missing. Thus was opened the road to Jellalabad. It is stated[1] that General Pollock got through the pass "by the help of bribes, as usual." Sir G. Pollock did not pay a single rupee.

Defeat of Akbar Khan at Jellalabad.[2]—Akbar Khan had caused a report to be circulated that

[1] Campbell's Modern India, 1852, p. 137. Sir G. Pollock authorizes the author to contradict the statement.

[2] Blue Book, p. 207.

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General Pollock had been defeated in the Khyber Pass, and had retreated to Peshawur. On the 6th April, Akbar Khan fired a salute in honour of this event. General Sale, commanding the garrison at Jellalabad, with a view of facilitating the advance of General Pollock's force, of relieving the place from its state of blockade, as also of defeating the sirdar before he might obtain reinforcements or retreat into Lughinan, resolved to make a general attack on the Affghan camp. On the 7th of April, the troops, amounting to about one thousand six hundred men, of whom two hundred and forty were cavalry, were formed into three columns of infantry. The sirdar's force was computed at about six thousand men. The enemy were completely defeated, and the sirdar fled. Our loss was one officer killed, three wounded, and seventy-seven men killed or wounded. The enemy's loss was very great. Major-general Pollock reached Jellalabad[1] on the 16th April, 1842.

General Pollock urges an advance on Cabool.[2] General Pollock on the 13th May, 1842, wrote to Mr. Maddock, secretary to government from

[1] "Blue Book," p. 236.

[2] Kaye's "War in Affghanistan," 1851, vol. ii. p. 465.

Jellalabad, in answer to his letter of the 28th April, "which adverts to the present aspect of affairs in Affghanistan, and the probability of my having advanced towards Cabool; stating also, that in such an event, the views of the Governor-general as to the withdrawal of the troops will not be altered; and further, that whatever measures I may adopt, I must have especial regard to the health of the troops. I trust that I am not wrong in considering this letter as leaving to me discretionary powers, and, coming as it does from the supreme power in India, I venture to delay, for some days, acting up to the instructions communicated in his Excellency the commander-in-chief's letter,[1] dated 29th ultimo. I regret much that a want of carriage-cattle has detained me here; if it had not been so, I should now be several marches in advance, and I am quite certain that such a movement would have been highly beneficial. Affairs at Cabool are, at the present moment, in a very unsettled state; but a few days must decide in favour of one of the parties." "With regard to our withdrawal at the

[1] "Blue Book," p. 242, directing his withdrawing from Jellalabad to Peshawur, and intimating similar orders for retirement having been sent to General Nott.

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present moment, I fear that it would have the very worst effect;—it would be construed into a defeat, and our character as a powerful nation would be entirely lost in this part of the world." But the advance on Cabool would require that General Nott should act in concert, and advance also. I, therefore, cannot help regretting that he should be directed to retire; which, without some demonstration of our power, he will find some difficulty in doing."[1] The letters of Lord Ellenborough of the 4th July, 1842,[2] to Generals Nott and Pollock, gave a discretionary authority to the former to retire, *vid* Ghuznee and Cabool; and to the latter, "to combine your movements, as far as you can, with those of the major-general (Nott), should he decide upon adopting the line of retirement by Ghuznee and Cabool." Thus, General Pollock urged on the Governor-general the march on Cabool. General Nott had, also, pointed out to the Governor-general the feasibility of the march on Cabool. General Pollock[3] also, in his letter of the 28th April, 1842, says, "when we

[1] This letter was not in the "Blue Book." A copy was at last sent from India. Kaye, p. 467, note.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 239.

[3] "Blue Book," pp. 327, 329.

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advance, the 3rd light dragoons may possibly have to play a conspicuous part; though at present, I believe there is not a soul to oppose us between this (Jellalabad) and Cabool." So that he had, before his letter of the 13th May, 1842, indicated his expectation of an advance on Cabool.

General Pollock's march from Jellalabad. General Pollock[1] marched from Jellalabad on the 20th August, 1842. Lord Ellenborough,[2] on the 4th July, 1842, wrote to Major-general Nott, as well as to General Pollock, granting permission to the advance upon Cabool; General Pollock from Jellalabad, by the passes, up to the capital; and General Nott, proceeding from Candahar, *via* Ghuznee, to Cabool.

General Pollock reached Gundamuck[3] on the 23rd August; and, hearing of the enemy being at Mammookhail, two miles distant, attacked them next morning. There were two columns of attack; the right, under Brigadier-general M'Caskill; the left, under Brigadier Tulloch. Lieutenant-colonel A. B. Taylor, 9th foot, occupied the heights in front of the village of Kooclee

[1] "Blue Book," p. 372.

[2] "Blue Book," pp. 327, 329. Letters, 404, 405.

[3] "Blue Book," p. 374.

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Khail; while Captain Broadfoot cleared the hills to the left of Lieutenant-colonel Taylor's position. This village is two miles from Mammookhail, and was the most difficult portion of the operations of the day. Four officers were wounded, and forty-nine men killed or wounded. General Pollock[1] marched from Gundamuck on the 7th September; having halted there for fourteen days. It was necessary to make many arrangements at that place, and to establish a depôt for grain, required on the return of the troops from Cabool. The general on the 8th September[2] left Soork-ab, and moved through the Jugdulluck pass. A considerable number of the enemy covered the summits of the hills which command the road through the pass. Attacks were made by the troops, and the enemy driven off. The British loss was, one officer killed, one wounded, and sixty-four of all ranks killed and wounded.

On the 11th September,[3] General Pollock arrived in the Tezeen valley, and halted on the 12th. In the afternoon of the 12th, the enemy attacked the picquets on the left flank. Lieu-

[1] "Blue Book," p. 383.
[2] "Blue Book," p. 385.
[3] "Blue Book," p. 395.

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tenant-colonel Taylor, 9th foot, by a well-planned and gallant attack, drove them back. The enemy's attack on the picquets, during the night, were all unsuccessful. On the 13th, it was observed that the Affghans had crowned the heights, to oppose the advance of the army, by the Tezeen Pass, into the high ground (Kotuls) which intervenes between the valley and the village of Khoord Cabool, near the entrance to that pass. The enemy were said to be, sixteen thousand men. Akbar Khan was present, and seemed resolved to make a last stand on this difficult ground. "The enemy being completely dispersed, we pursued our march," concludes the dispatch, "and encamped at Khoord Cabool without further opposition." Our loss was four officers wounded, and one hundred and sixty-two of all ranks killed or wounded. On the 16th September, General Pollock arrived at Cabool, without any further opposition.

General Nott's march from Candahar towards Cabool. On the 10th of August,[1] 1842, Major-general Nott marched from Candahar. The force consisted of,—

Horse artillery, two troops.

Two companies Bengal artillery.

[1] "Blue Book," p. 366.

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Cavalry :—

3rd Bombay light cavalry, five Rissalahs, Christie's irregular horse, three Rissalahs, 1st Bengal irregular cavalry.

Infantry :—

His Majesty's 40th and 41st foot, 2nd, 16th, 38th, 42nd, 43rd, 3rd or Captain Craigie's Bengal irregular infantry.

Shumsoodeen's advance with twelve thousand men.[1] On the 30th of August, 1842, Shumsoodeen, governor of Ghuznee, advanced near General Nott's camp at Gonine, thirty-eight miles south-west of Ghuznee. The general moved out with one-half of his force, and after a short and spirited contest, completely defeated the enemy; capturing their guns, tents, ammunition, &c., and dispersing them in every direction. Shumsoodeen fled in the direction of Ghuznee. Our loss was one hundred and four officers and men, including two officers killed, and four wounded.[2]

General Nott's advance on Ghuznee. On the 5th of September, 1842, General Nott[3] moved

[1] "Blue Book," p. 388.

[2] Two officers killed and two wounded, and twenty-three men belonged to the 3rd Bombay cavalry affair on the 28th August.

[3] "Blue Book," p. 391.

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on and arrived at Ghuznee. Preparations were made during the night to erect batteries. On the morning of the 6th it was ascertained that the enemy had evacuated the fortress. General Nott recovered about three hundred and twenty-seven of the sepoys of the 27th Bengal native infantry, who had been sold into slavery, and dispersed in villages forty miles round Ghuznee. Orders had been given by Sir W. Macnaghten, in December, 1841, for the surrender of the fortress. Lieutenant-colonel Palmer, on the 1st of March, 1842, wrote[1] that he had capitulated by the orders of Major Pottinger and General Elphinstone on the arrival of Rohilla Khan from Cabool. That the snow was still deep. "The men had suffered greatly from cold; the thermometer having been fourteen degrees below zero." The garrison had been promised honourable treatment and safety on the march to Cabool. The sepoys were induced[2] to give up their arms on Shumsoodeen swearing on the koran that he would give them a safe escort to Hindostan. General Nott,[3] on his approach to

[1] "Blue Book," p. 183.
[2] "Blue Book," p. 263, Colonel Palmer's syce said so.
[3] "Blue Book," p. 401.

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Cabool, had his march upon Beenee Badam, and Mydan, intercepted by Shumsoodeen and other chiefs, who had occupied a succession of strong mountains, with twelve thousand men, on the 14th and 15th of September; whom he dislodged, and reached Cabool the day after General Pollock.

General Pollock (he had heard that the prisoners had made arrangements for their own liberation), detached Sir R. Shakespear with a body of[1] seven hundred kuzzulbash horse, with the concurrence of their chief, in the direction of Bameean; and on the 19th of September, detached two thousand men, under Major-general Sir. R. Sale. The prisoners were under charge of Saleh Mahomed Khan, who was proceeding with them, by order of Akbar Khan, to Torkistan. Saleh Mahomed was promised a sum of money and a pension for life, when he agreed to march them back to meet our parties. Sir R. Shakespear joined them on the 17th, and moved on to Sir R. Sale's force on the 20th; the prisoners reached Cabool on the 21st of September. There were:—

[1] "Blue Book," p. 404.

Ladies	7
Women	3
Children	11
Officers	31
Non-commissioned officers and privates	49
Clerks	2
Boys	2
	105

Including the officers from Ghuznee. Captain Bygrave was given up on the 27th of September.

Istalif in Kohistan.—Major-general McCaskill was detached with a force to Istalif (three or four marches distant), where a number of the people from Cabool had taken refuge. The force made itself master of the strong and populous town of Istalif on the 29th of September,[1] and set fire to it in several places. Istalif commands a defile, which leads to Toorkistan.

Destruction of Cabool.[2] Before leaving Cabool General Pollock destroyed the grand bazar of that city, called the Chahar Chuttah, built in the time of Aurungzeb, by the celebrated Ali Murdan Khan, where the remains of the late envoy and minister had been exposed to public insult. A mosque at the end of the bazaar, and another

[1] "Blue Book," p. 412.
[2] "Blue Book," p. 421.

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near the cantonment, ornamented with European materials, and designated as the Feringhee mosque, to commemorate the events of last year, were also destroyed.

Departure from Cabool. — General Pollock marched from Cabool on the 12th of October. He detached Sir R. Sale with the 1st and 2nd brigades, the mountain train, 1st light cavalry, 3rd irregular cavalry, and Christie's horse, over the Gospund Durrah Pass, for the purpose of turning that of the Khoord Cabool; in consequence of which movement they marched through the principal defile without a shot being fired. The other troops, including General Nott's division, marched to Bootkakh. The Gospund Pass is to the right of the main pass marching from Cabool. It commands the main pass.[1] The rear-guard of Major-general Nott was attacked on the 14th of October in the Huft Kotul Pass.[2] General Pollock [3] considered these attacks were made by the brigands of the country. He

[1] There is a road for caravans to the left of the main pass, called the Luttabund pass. It enters the main pass at the third march from Bootkakh; but is not fit for the passage of an army.

[2] Between Khoord Cabool and Tezeen Valley.

[3] Page 426, writing from Jellalabad.

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says, "I have crowned the heights the whole distance, and have had a strong rear-guard." Some of the troops in the rear division did not attend to this precaution. "Most certainly," adds General Pollock, "there has not been any organized resistance." Brigadier Wilde's brigade was attacked near Ali Musjid on the 3rd of November. The fort of Ali Musjid was destroyed. The troops under Major-generals Pollock and Nott crossed the Sutlej on their return from Cabool on the 17th of December, 1842.

The army of reserve. Lord Ellenborough[1] writes to the Commander-in-chief on the 19th of April, 1842, regarding the forming an army of reserve. "With a view to secure the tranquillity of India, while so large a portion of our force is beyond the Indus, it appears to me that it would be advisable to form, at the earliest period, an army of reserve, of at least fifteen thousand men of all arms, perfectly equipped for immediate service, in such a position as may make it at once an apparent support to the corps in advance; and an object of apprehension to all who may entertain designs of hostility against the British

[1] "Blue Book," p. 225, par. 7. He arrived in Calcutta 28th February, 1842.

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Government." The Governor-general wrote then from Benares. He writes from Allahabad[1] that Ferozpoor was fixed upon for the assembly of the army of reserve, and on the 15th of November writes, that it will "facilitate the operations of the armies in Affghanistan;" "while exhibiting our undiminished military strength to the states by which we are surrounded, it will induce the abandonment of any intentions they might entertain of hostility to our Government."[2] We had lost an army in January, 1842, at Cabool. We had two armies on the eve of marching on that city. The treaty with the ameers of Sindh was not yet signed; as well as to exhibit to all India the military resources of the Government: were all sufficient causes for the assembly of this army on the bank of the Sutlej. There was another reason. Owing to the confused state of the Government of Lahore, there was a possibility of the Sikhs attacking our armies returning from Cabool. It is now known that the chiefs *did* urge Maharajah Shere Sing to attack the forces under Generals Pollock and Nott. Instead of

[1] "Blue Book," p. 331, 6th August, 1842, pars. 5 & 6, to the Secret Committee.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 331, par. 9.

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which[1] "the army of reserve, formed in one line, extending two miles and a half, received the major-general and the garrison of Jellalabad, in review order, with presented arms." It was evidently a very excellent plan to prove to the chiefs of India the power of the British Government.

[1] "Blue Book," p. 429.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR WITH CHINA,[1] 1840-1842.

"THE opium war, as it has generally been misnamed, from the Chinese having taken their stand on that question; professing that to save the morals of the people the trade in that drug must be cut off." In April, 1820,[2] Yuen issued a proclamation prohibiting the drug. In the year 1838, the restrictions on the opium trade became exceedingly troublesome;[3] but on the 17th of September, a Chinese officer appeared at Whampoa, to search for, and seize opium. Captain Elliot, the superintendent, had on the 2nd of December, 1837, left Canton and went to Macao, in consequence of the governor having refused to correspond with him. On the 22nd of March, 1839, Captain Elliot issued a circular to the merchants, which was received the next day, and on the 24th

[1] Captain J. E. Bingham, R.N., second edition, 1843, vol. i., p. i. introduction.

[2] Captain Bingham, p. 5. [3] Page 23.

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he re-appeared at Canton.[1] He and the merchants were confined to the factories as prisoners. At last on the 21st of May,[2] 1839, the surrender of all the prohibited drug (20,283 chests of opium) was completed. On the 4th of June,[3] "the Chinese High Commissioner, the Governor, and all the officers, civil and military, proceeded to Chunhow, near the Bocca Tigris, and commenced operations for the destruction of £2,500,000 of *forcibly seized* British property. Large trenches were lined with stone, and the opium being decomposed in them by the use of quick lime, rock-salt, and water, was allowed to run into the sea." There had been interruptions to the trade in 1784, 1801, and in 1806. But on the present occasion there was an insult offered to Captain Elliot, R. N., the representative of our most gracious Queen.

Expedition to China.[4]—The troops from Calcutta sailed in April, 1840, the last transport leaving on the 17th. The expedition consisted of the following men of war:—

Wellesley 74, . Commodore Sir J. G. Bremer, K.C.B. K.C.H. Commander-in-chief. Captain T. Maitland.

[1] Captain Bingham, p. 61.
[2] Page 85.
[3] Page 87.
[4] Page 171.

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Conway 26, . . Captain C. D. B. Bethune.
Alligator 26, . . Captain A. L. Kuper.
Crusier 16, . . Commander H. W. Gifford.
Algerine 10, . . Lieutenant T. H. Mason.
Young Hebe.

STEAM VESSELS.

Atalanta . . . Captain Rogers, Indian Navy.
Queen Mr. Warden, H. E. I. C. Service.
Madagascar . . Mr. Dicey, ditto.
Twenty-one transports.

Troops.—Her Majesty's 18th, 26th, and 49th regiments; a native corps of Bengal volunteers; detachments of artillery and sappers from the Madras presidency, Brigadier G. Burrell, (18th foot) commanding; they arrived in China in June, and proceeded on the 22nd and 23rd, to the northward, for the purpose of occupying the island of Chusan, as a *point d'appui* for our future operations. Sir Gordon Bremer on his arrival, issued a notice, that the blockade of the port and river of Canton would be established on the 28th instant. On the 28th of June,[1] the following ships arrived from the Cape and England:—

Melville 74, . Rear Admiral Hon. G. Elliot, C.B., Commander-in-chief and Plenipotentiary.
Captain Hon. R. S. Dundas.
Blonde 42, . . Captain T. Bouchier.

[1] Captain Bingham, p. 175.

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Pylades 16, . . Commander T. V. Anson.
Enterprise 18, (steam vessel) from Bengal.
Captain Elliot became joint-plenipotentiary with the admiral.

The island of Chusan[1] was captured on the 5th of July, 1840, without any loss on the part of the British. The Chinese had twenty-five men killed—the number of wounded not known. A truce[2] between the Chinese Imperial High Commissioner and Rear-admiral Elliot was announced on the 6th of November, 1840. Orders arrived from Canton for the evacuation of the island, and on the 23rd of February, 1841,[3] the British colours were struck, and the troops and ships proceeded to the Canton river.

Sickness at Chusan.[4]—The troops arrived at Chusan on the 5th July, and on the 22nd of October, 1840, out of three thousand six hundred and fifty troops, only two thousand and thirty-six were fit for duty. Bingham says, "Between three hundred and four hundred had been interred, and about fifteen hundred were

[1] "Annual Register," 1840, Despatches, p. 573.
[2] Bingham, p. 353. The Madras 37th native infantry, arrived in the Canton river in October, 1840, p. 404.
[3] Bingham, p. 378.
[4] "Annual Register," 1841, Chron. p. 21.

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in the hospitals. The gallant Cameronians were reduced to a perfect skeleton, and the brave 49th[1] were scarcely in a better condition. No doubt this was mainly to be attributed to the want of fresh and wholesome provisions, predisposing the constitution of the men to the agues and fevers epidemical in this place; for we find the sickness comparatively mild amongst the officers, who had means of living on a more generous diet;" and that much sickness, it was said, prevailed among the Chinese. The seamen and officers on board the ships were not sickly.[2] Dr. D. McPherson[3] says, "So great was the dread of exciting a bad feeling, and causing discontent among the natives, that our men were obliged to live in their tents when there were thousands of houses available for that purpose; and without regard to the health of the men, or consulting medical authorities on the subject, positions were laid out for the encampment of the troops. Parades and guard-mounting in full dress, with a thermometer ranging from ninety

[1] "Annual Register," vol. i. p. 312, 47th, by mistake for 49th.

[2] The statement of a Bengal assistant-surgeon to the author.

[3] Madras army. "Two Years in China," 1842, p. 12.

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degrees to one hundred degrees, made the scene resemble the route of garrison duty in India." "Men were placed in tents[1] pitched on low paddy fields, surrounded by stagnant water, putrid and stinking from quantities of dead animal and vegetable matter. Under a sun hotter than that ever experienced in India, the men on duty were buckled up to the throat in their full dress coatees; and in consequence of there being so few camp followers, fatigue parties of Europeans were daily detailed to carry provisions and stores from the ships to the tents, and to perform all menial employments, which experience has long taught us they cannot stand in a tropical climate. The poor men, working like slaves, began to sink under the exposure and fatigue. Bad provisions, low spirits, and despondency drove them to drink.[2] This increased their liability to disease, and in the month of November there were barely five hundred effective men in the force."[3] "Medical men, as is often the case, were put down as

[1] "Two Years in China," p. 21.

[2] Shamshoo—no arrak to be had.

[3] Out of three thousand six hundred and fifty men landed in July, 1840.

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croakers; their recommendations were neither listened nor attended to."

"The 26th Cameronians[1] suffered most. This regiment, which sailed from Calcutta upwards of nine hundred strong, a pattern of all other corps for sobriety and good conduct, its average mortality during the previous ten years being barely twenty, was, in the short space of three months, reduced to two hundred and ninety-one. The entire amount of force on the island did not, on the 1st of January, 1841, exceed one thousand nine hundred men." It was proposed to keep all the officers and men on board the transports, except those required for duty on shore; but the authorities did not think they would be justified in incurring the expense.[2] Had the parties on duty on shore been relieved weekly, and the rest retained on board, a great number of lives would have been saved. The orders to prepare the salt provisions were received in Calcutta only in February 1840. Salted meat could not be prepared properly at the time the order arrived, and

[1] Mc Pherson, p. 55.

[2] Military officers paid two rupees a day to the captains of transports, and the government paid six rupees. Surely about £100 a day was dearly saved at such a sacrifice.

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there was an objection to give the prices asked by the merchants, &c.[1] The Marquis Wellesley began early in the cold weather of 1800 to prepare for the expedition to Egypt, which sailed in April 1801, from Calcutta. The attempt to improve the Calcutta salted meat by fresh brine at Singapoor, did not answer. Good meat ought to be sent, at any price it may cost.

The Madras 37th native infantry[2] sailed for Madras in August 1840, mustering one thousand bayonets, in three transports; one (the Golconda) was lost in a typhoon in the China Sea. The admiral, being ill, on the 4th December returned to England in the Volage. The truce was at an end.

Battles of Cheumpee and Tycoctow.[3]—The period allotted to receive a reply from Keshen having expired, the troops disembarked on the 7th January, 1841, on the island of Cheumpee. The land force, commanded by Major Pratt, her

[1] The Calcutta suppliers of provisions could have furnished salted meat, but the price was thought too dear. Ships in the river often dispose of salted beef; the Americans chiefly it is said.

[2] McPherson, p. 31.

[3] McPherson, p. 65. Force, one thousand four hundred and sixty-one men.

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Majesty's 26th regiment, consisting of Royal artillery, and marines, and seamen, six hundred and seventy-four; 37th Madras native infantry, six hundred and seven; and Bengal volunteers, seventy-six. Also one hundred invalids, who had arrived from Chusan. Her Majesty's ships Calliope, Larne, and Hyacinth, under Captain Herbert, proceeded to bombard the lower fort, while the steamers Nemesis and Queen, threw shells into the hill forts and entrenchments on the inner side,—the Wellesley and other large ships moving up into mid-channel, in case they might be required. The Chinese kept up a fire for an hour. Had the enemy's guns been a little more depressed, much mischief would have been done. When their firing had slackened a little, the infantry advanced. All the enemy's positions were carried, and their loss was great. In the forts there were eighty-two guns, and as many in the war-junks. Their force was about two thousand men, of whom six hundred must have been killed, and as many wounded.[1] The fort of Tycoctow was carried by the division under Captain Scott, consisting of the Druid, Samarang, Modeste, and Columbine. The next day the

[1] McPherson, p. 76.

signal of a flag of truce was exhibited on board the Wellesley. It was for three days. On the fourth day, Captain Elliot, by public proclamation, announced a cessation of hostilities, and a conclusion of preliminary arrangements between the imperial high commissioner and himself.[1]

Forts in Canton River.—The Chinese, it appears, had no intention of fulfilling the engagements entered into, although orders were sent to Chusan[2] by Sir G. Bremer to provide for the immediate evacuation of that island, by the British troops; and Hong Kong island was formally taken possession of in her Majesty's name. On the morning of the 19th of February, 1841, a hostile shot was fired at the boat of the Nemesis steamer, from North Wantong, upon which the British squadron advanced up the river to attack the forts; and on the 26th February, Captain Sir H. F. Senhouse, her Majesty's ship Blenheim, with the Melville, the Queen steamer, and four rocket boats, opened a fire upon Anunghoy. The Wellesley, Calliope, Samarang, Druid, Herald,

[1] Cession of Hong-Kong; six million dollars indemnity; direct official intercourse; and re-opening the trade at Canton.

[2] "Annual Register," 1841, History, p. 279.

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"Alligator," and "Modeste," were opposed to the batteries on the south-south-west and north-west of Wantong, and the forts on the western side of the channel. In less than an hour the batteries on Wantong were silenced, and the troops,[1] under the command of Major Pratt, of the 26th Cameronians, were landed, and having in a few minutes made themselves masters of the island, without the loss of a single man: one thousand three hundred Chinese surrendered.

The Anunghoy batteries were silenced by the "Blenheim," "Melville," and "Queen." Seeing the enemy wavering, Sir H. F. Senhouse, at the head of the marines, landed on the south battery, and drove the enemy from the celebrated works. The Chinese suffered great loss, and their admiral (Kwan) was blown up. On the 27th the light squadron, under Captain Herbert (Calliope), proceeded up the river, and, arriving at the first bar, found the enemy strongly fortified on the left bank of the river, close to Whampoa Reach, with upwards of forty war junks; a number of vessels also were sunk, in order to bar the passage.

[1] Detachments of her Majesty's 26th and 49th, 37th Madras native infantry, and Bengal volunteers, and royal marines.

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A heavy fire was opened upon the steamers "Madagascar" and "Nemesis;" but the ships opened their fire on the junks and batteries, which in an hour were nearly silenced, when the marines and small-arm men were landed and stormed the works, driving before them upwards of two thousand Chinese troops, and killing nearly three hundred. In about half an hour after landing, all the defences were carried. Next day Sir G. Bremer joined the advanced squadron, and several transports were pushed forward within gun shot of Howqua's fort, and thus, for the first time, were ships seen from the walls of Canton. At the end of March, 1841, Sir G. Bremer left Canton for Calcutta, to obtain reinforcements. In the meantime the trade was partially re-opened in virtue of the convention which had been entered into.

Attack on Canton.[1] The attack was made on the 24th May, 1841. The right column, to attack and hold the factories, in tow of the "Atalanta," consisting of 26th regiment (fifteen officers and two hundred and ninety-four men), Madras artillery (an officer, and twenty men),

[1] "Annual Register," 1841, p. 495, Despatch. Major-General Sir H. Gough joined on the 2nd May, 1841.

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with an officer of engineers, under Major Pratt, his Majesty's 26th. Left column, towed by the "Nemesis," in four brigades, to move left in front, under Lieutenant-colonel Morris. His Majesty's 49th (Major Stephens), twenty-eight officers, and two hundred and seventy-three men; 37th Madras native infantry, Captain Duff, eleven officers, and two hundred and nineteen men; one company Bengal volunteers, Captain Mee, one officer, and one hundred and fourteen men; artillery (royal), under Captain Knowles, three officers, thirty-three men; Madras artillery, Captain Anstruther, ten officers, two hundred and thirty-one men; sappers and miners, Captain Cotton, four officers, one hundred and thirty-seven men.

Ordnance:—

4—12-pounder howitzers
4—9-pounder field pieces
2—6-pounders " "
3—5½-inch mortars
152—32-pounder rockets

Naval brigade, under Captain Bouchier, ("Blonde").—1st naval battalion, Captain Maitland ("Wellesley"), eleven officers, one hundred

and seventy-two men. 2nd naval battalion, Commander Barlow ("Nimrod,") sixteen officers, two hundred and thirty-one men.

Reserve, under Major-general Burrell. Royal marines, Captain Ellis, nine officers, three hundred and seventy-two men; 18th royal Irish, Lieutenant-colonel Adams, twenty-five officers, four hundred and ninety-five men.

The right column took possession of the factories before five o'clock, P.M. The left column reached near the village of Tsing-hae, the point of debarkation, about five miles, by the river line, above the factories. "The heights to the north of Canton, crowned by four strong forts, and the city walls, which run over the southern extremity of these heights, including one elevated point, appeared to be about three and a-half miles distant; the intermediate ground undulating much, and intersected by hollows under wet paddy cultivation, enabled me to take up successive positions, until we approached within range of the forts on the heights, and the northern face of the city walls. I had to wait here some time, placing the men under cover, to bring up the rocket battery and artillery."

A strongly entrenched camp of considerable

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extent, occupied by about four thousand men, to the north-east of the city, was taken and burnt; and the forts on the heights were taken thus:— "The British troops looked down on Canton, within one hundred paces of its walls." Sir H. Gough had decided upon storming the city of Canton; but "the following morning, the 26th May, at ten o'clock, a flag of truce was hoisted on the walls." Sir Hugh says, "As the general (Chinese) did not make his appearance (at the expiration of the two hours), I hauled down the *white* flag." The attack was not renewed. At last, Captain Elliot (superintendent) wrote to Sir H. Gough, requesting him to suspend hostilities, as he (Captain Elliot) was employed in a settlement of the difficulties upon the following conditions."[1]

The military force under Major-general Sir H. Gough,[2] was, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three, and one thousand seamen and marines. The British lost, killed, fourteen, and wounded, ninety-one. The navy, killed, six,

[1] Six million dollars, &c. "Five million dollars were paid, and security for one million more for the ransom of Canton."

[2] "Annual Register," 1841, p. 506.

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wounded, forty-two. The Chinese had five hundred killed, and fifteen hundred wounded, on the 25th May, and many more after that date. There were said to have been forty-five thousand soldiers from other provinces. By the agreement made on the 27th May, 1840, the troops from other provinces were to leave in six days, and to proceed to a distance of upwards of sixty miles. The city of Canton,[1] the population nearly one million, and whose boasted army of fifty thousand, was now humbled. Our troops bivoucacked on the heights near Canton for seven days. On the afternoon of the 29th May,[2] the Tartar troops, ten thousand in number, evacuated the city. On the 31st, eight thousand more Tartar troops left the city,[3] and the remainder were preparing to follow, when carriage was provided.

It has been questioned whether the force we had at Canton, at the time, could have taken the city. It is supposed by an officer on the staff, who was there, that the British troops might have entered the city; and that the populace would have plundered the place; the force was too small

[1] McPherson, p. 137.
[2] McPherson, p. 149.
[3] McPherson, p. 163, and Despatches par. 39.

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to keep possession of it. A bombardment would have done much damage to private property; the navy could only act externally; the capture of Canton would not have brought peace; we obtained ransom. It was the last attack in the direction of the Grand Canal that insured peace; the Chinese were gaining strength, for as we went to the north we encountered the Tartar troops.

Hong Kong,[1] sickness in 1841.—From Canton the troops went to Hong Kong. The troops who were obliged to remain on shore continued to suffer much. Two-thirds of the latter were, during the months of June, July, and August, quite unfit for duty; nor was there a solitary European at this time resident on the island who escaped the prevailing fever. Malaria is to be found on the island of Hong Kong where no vegetable matter is to be seen, and where no marsh exists. The natives sometimes, at one period of the day, may be seen in the thinnest and coolest habiliments, and in another, clad in furs and woollens; or put on a succession of garments as the cold increases, and again throw them aside as it becomes warm. In the 37th Madras native infantry, six hundred strong,

[1] McPherson, pp. 168, 169.

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barely one hundred men were effective; two of the officers had died, and of the sixteen remaining, one only was fit for duty.

Commodore Sir G. Bremer, on the 22nd of June,[1] 1841, returned from Calcutta, invested with authority by her Majesty to co-operate with Captain Elliot as joint-plenipotentiary. Major-general Sir H. Pottinger, and Rear-admiral Sir W. Parker arrived in August. Captain Elliot and Commodore Sir G. Bremer went to England.

Proceed to Amoy.[2]—The expedition proceeded to the north on 21st of August, in the following order:—

Bentinck Surveying Ship.

Queen (steamer),[3] Wellesley 74, Sesostris (steamer).
Phlegethon (steamer), Blenheim 74, Nemesis (steamer).
Columbine 16, Marion (staff ship) Modeste 16.

Druid 44, Wing ship. — Seven Transports. — Six Transports. — Eight Transports. — Blonde 44, Wing ship.

Pylades 18, Cruiser 18, Algerine 10.

The fleet rendezvoused off the harbour of Amoy, on the 25th of August; on the 26th, Sir

[1] McPherson, p. 167. [2] Page 201. [3] Steamer.

H. Pottinger, Sir H. Gough, and Sir W. Parker, reconnoitred the defences in the "Phlegethon." These appeared to be of vast extent and of great strength: every spot from whence guns could bear upon the harbour was occupied and strongly armed. From the point of entrance into the inner harbour, the great sea line of defence extended in one continued battery of granite upwards of a mile. This battery was faced with turf and mud several feet in thickness, so that at a distance no appearance of a fortification could be traced. The embrasures were roofed, and the slabs thickly covered with turf, so as to protect the men while working their guns. This work mounted about one hundred guns, and it terminated in a high wall, which was connected with a range of rocky heights which run parallel to the beach. The entrance into the harbour is by a channel six hundred yards across, between the island of Koolangsoo and Amoy. On each side of this passage there were also strong fortifications.

About one P.M. a simultaneous attack was made upon these prominent defences. The line of battle ships and large steamers attacking the great sea batteries, the two frigates the island of Koolang-

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soo, while the smaller vessels engaged the several flanking works. The capture of Amoy was chiefly a naval operation; and for four hours did the ships pepper at those enormous batteries without a moment's cessation. The stream of fire and smoke from the sides of the liners was terrific. The Wellesley and Blenheim alone each fired upwards of twelve thousand rounds, to say nothing of the frigates, steamers, and small craft; yet the works were as perfect when they left off as when they began, the utmost penetration of the shot being sixteen inches. From twenty to thirty people were all that were killed, by this enormous expenditure of powder and shot.

It was late before the first division of the troops landed. They escaladed the wall which flanked the main line of batteries, covered by the "Queen" and "Phlegethon" steamers. The flank companies of her Majesty's 18th were the first to go over the wall, driving the enemy before them. They opened a gate, through which the rest of our men entered, and advancing along the battery, quickly cleared it, killing more men in ten minutes than the ships of war did the whole day. The enemy fled on all sides so soon as the troops landed. The island of Koolangsoo

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was about the same time taken possession of by the troops with little opposition. During the whole day, the heights above the city were densely crowded with people, who had proceeded thither for safety. On the following day, the city was entered. It has an excellent harbour. The citadel is about a mile in circumference. It contains several extensive grannaries well filled, arsenals with enormous quantities of arms, and extensive magazines of powder, &c. Their magazines were blown up, the arsenals and their contents destroyed, the war-junks and dock-yards burnt, upwards of five hundred guns rendered unserviceable, and the fortifications were destroyed; after which, the fleet and force, on the 5th of September (1841), took their departure, leaving a garrison of five hundred and fifty men on the island of Koolangsoo, which completely commands the entrance into the harbour. Her Majesty's ships "Druid," "Pylades," and "Algerine," were left to protect the garrison and island.

Re-capture of Chusan.[1] On reconnoitring, it was found that the Chinese had built the fortifications on the same principles as those at Amoy.

[1] McPherson, p. 212.

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"There was now a continual line of strong battery on the sea face." "This battery was chiefly constructed of mud, and had two hundred and sixty-seven embrasures, though the majority were not yet supplied with guns." There were other works on the several heights and valleys which commanded an approach to the harbour from the sea. The attack commenced on the 1st October, 1841. The men-of-war took up their position, and the landing took place in two columns. The first column, which Sir H. Gough accompanied, was fifteen hundred strong, and commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Craigie, her Majesty's 55th regiment. The second column, one thousand and fifty strong, was under Lieutenant-colonel Morris, her Majesty's 49th regiment.[1] The Chinese fought better than on the former occasion in July. The operations lasted two hours, and our loss was only thirty killed and wounded, including one officer killed. The enemy lost fifteen hundred, including nine or ten mandarins. A military government was formed, and four hundred men left as a garrison.

Capture of Chinhae.[2] The city is situated on

[1] Bingham, vol. ii. p. 261, says the Chinese force was five thousand men.

[2] McPherson, p. 219.

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the left bank of the Tahae or Ningpo river. On the evening of the 9th of October, 1841, the whole of the squadron anchored off Chinhae; the "Wellesley," "Blenheim," "Blonde," and "Modeste," took up their positions to cannonade the citadel and eastern part of the city walls; the steamers "Sesostris," and "Queen," so as to shell the citadel in flank, and enfilade any batteries their guns could bear upon. The flat-bottomed steamers landed the troops. Sir H. Gough formed a left, centre, and right column. He accompanied the two former; the latter was placed under Captain Sir T. Herbert, R.N. The iron steamers were of great use, as they at once ran their bows on the mud bank, and allowed the men to wade on shore in water barely knee deep. The left column was one thousand and seventy strong,[1] under Lieutenant-colonel Craigie. The centre column,[2] amounting to four hundred and sixty men, two twelve-pounder howitzers, and two six-pounder field guns, under Lieutenant-colonel Morris. This column landed a mile to

[1] Detachments of her Majesty's 18th and 55th, Madras artillery, sappers, and rifle company, four light howitzers, and two five and a-half inch mortars.

[2] Her Majesty's 49th, detachments royal and Madras artillery and sappers.

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the right of the left column. These columns acted on the opposite bank of the canal, crossing over the bridges. On the left bank, the bombardment still continued. The city defences were reduced to almost a ruinous state. The right column was seven hundred strong. The seamen at once dashed up the precipitous rock, and planted the union-jack on the citadel walls. The rockets and musketry mowed the Chinese down by hundreds. In a few hours Chinhae, the key to the large and opulent city of Ningpo, was in our possession, with a loss to the Chinese of about two thousand; while our loss was only nineteen, killed and wounded. A garrison of about five hundred men was left at Chinhae.

Capture of Ningpo.[1] On the 13th October, 1841 (the admiral in the "Nemesis" having ascertained the depth of water), the remnant of the force proceeded up the river in steamers. The Chinese had placed the utmost confidence in the defences of Chinhae, and therefore had taken no precautions to protect the city of Ningpo. It was ascertained that the Tartar troops had refused to again face ours. The gates were barricaded;

[1] McPherson, p. 228.

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the walls were escaladed, and the gates opened from within; the Chinese assisting in removing the obstructions. Our little force of soldiers, sailors, and marines, not amounting, in all, to one thousand men, marched quietly into the city. It is nearly five miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a high wall; fully two thirds the size of Canton, and said to contain six hundred thousand people.

Chinese attack on Ningpo and Chinhae.[1] On the 10th March, 1842, the Chinese made the attack on Ningpo. The signal was, the ignition of some fire-rafts, to be sent against the ships. At Ningpo, ten or twelve thousand men advanced upon the south and western gates, the guards retiring before them. The Chinese were repulsed, however, in the centre of the city. Th eattack at Chinhae was comparatively feeble. The fire-rafts at Chinhae and Ningpo were towed on shore, without causing any injury to the ships. It was reported that the enemy were near Tsekee, on the Segaon hills[2] in two entrenched camps. On the 15th March, the forces consisting of,—

[1] Bingham, vol. ii. p. 292.
[2] Page 297.

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	MEN.
18th Royal Irish	201
26th Cameronians	156
49th Regiment	305
36th Madras Native Infantry, (Rifles)	54
Madras Artillery	83
Madras Sappers	54
Marines and Seamen	350
Total . .	1,203

Ordnance—four 8-pounder guns.

Embarked on board the steamers "Queen," "Nemesis," and "Phlegethon," and shortly after noon were landed within four miles of Tsekee. The "Phlegethon" and the armed launches proceeded up the river to intercept the retreat of the Chinese, and the troops pushed forward to the city. The naval brigade was ordered to move under the walls, and occupy two large buildings in front of the right encampment—the object being to make a simultaneous attack with the three columns. The movement was so rapid that only one gun could be brought up, which was effected by the exertions of Lieutenant-colonel Montgomerie. The columns rushed up the heights; the marine brigade was led by their gallant chief, Sir W. Parker. On reaching the summit of the hill, Sir H. Gough found that the enemy had retreated, taking with him his guns and the treasure. The troops re-

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turned to Ningpo on 17th March, 1842. Our loss was three killed, and twenty-two wounded.[1]

Evacuation of Ning-po.[2]—Early in May, 1842, it was decided to evacuate that city, and proceed with the expedition up the Yangtse-Kiang, leaving two hundred men on the Pagoda Hill, at Chinhae.

Attack on Chapoo.[3]—It is fifty or sixty miles, N. W., from Chinhae. It is nearly surrounded by a moat or canal, within which is a high wall encircling the city. It owes its importance to the Japanese trade. The heights commanded the city. On their extreme right, and commanding the anchorage, were two batteries; they were crowded with soldiers, about ten thousand, of whom one-third were Tartars. The attack was made the 18th of May. The troops were:—

Right column under Lieutenant-colonel Morris.

	OFFICERS.	MEN.
18th Royal Irish	22	470
49th Regiment	25	426
Sappers	1	25
Total . .	48	921

[1] Her Majesty's 49th, Capt. T. S. Reignolds, and Lieutenants J. M. Montgomerie, and F. W. Lane, and four rank and file wounded. The rest belonged to the navy.

[2] Bingham, p. 318. [3] Page 320.

Centre column under Lieutenant-colonel Montgomerie.

	OFFICERS.	MEN.
Royal Artillery	2	25
Madras Artillery	8	164
Sappers	2	74
36th Madras Nat. In. (Rifles)	3	100
Total . .	15	363

Left column under Colonel Schoedde.

26th Cameronians . . .	27	521
55th Regiment	15	274
Sappers	1	25
Total . .	43	820

Ordnance, the whole light field-train

Were embarked in the steamers. The object was to turn the enemy's left; while the "Cornwallis," "Blonde," "Modeste," and "Sesostris" were to attack the forts. The troops were formed into three columns. The rout of the Chinese soon became total, the fugitives throwing away their arms. At this period three hundred Tartars, finding their retreat cut off by her Majesty's 26th regiment, threw themselves into a loop-hooled Joss-house in one of the defiles, and defended themselves a considerable time with the most determined bravery. The artillery had no effect in dislodging them. This check to the whole force by a handful of men, could not be borne, and

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several runs were made at the door, to burst it in and get amongst them, but without effect. The gallant Colonel Tomlinson,[1] of the 18th, was shot through the neck in leading one of these assaults, and several other officers and men fell at this spot. Ultimately, the place was fired by rockets, and breached by bags of powder, placed under the superintendence of Captain Pears, when about fifty of the dependants were taken prisoners, but nearly all of them wounded. The troops passed on to the walls; the bridge had been destroyed, but the canal was crossed in boats, the troops mounted the walls and carried the place,—the enemy fled. Our loss was nine killed and fifty-one wounded.

Killed—Lieutenant-colonel Tomlinson, 18th Royal Irish.
Wounded—Lieut.-colonel A. S. H. Mountain, (26th foot) staff.
,, Lieutenant A. E. Jodrell, . . . 18th foot.
,, Lieutenant A. Murray, ... ,,
,, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 27 rank and file, ,,
Killed—Two rank and file 26th Cameronians.
Wounded—Three rank and file . . ,,
Killed—Two rank and file 49th regiment.
Wounded—Captain T. S. Reignolds . . ,,
,, Lieut. and Adj. W P. R. Brown ,,

[1] The author was informed that the colonel was shot or cut down by entering the wicket, instead of waiting for the means of destroying the place; men could only enter singly.

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Wounded—Eleven rank and file . . . 49th regiment.
,, (since dead) Capt. Colin Campbell, 55th ,,
,, Lieut. J. G. Johnstone, Madras sappers.
,, One rank and file, 36th Madras Nat. In. (rifles).

The Chinese must have suffered severely—from twelve to fifteen hundred were buried by our people. The city had been fired in several places, and a large part destroyed before our troops left the place.

The "Queen" steamer was dispatched for Sir H. Pottinger. The force re-embarked, and on the 20th of May, 1842, took their departure for the Yang-tse-kiang. Commanders Kellet and Collinson, in their vessels, accompanied by the "Algerine" (Lieutenant W. Maitland), were busily employed in exploring a safe passage for the fleet.[1] This arduous duty was completed by the 4th of June, and on the following day the fleet moved to the northward. Owing to the necessity of anchoring at night, and the calm and foggy weather, it was the 8th before the force had assembled off Amherst rocks,—the point of rendezvous from whence the "Modeste," "Phlegethon," and "Nemesis" were dispatched to intercept any communication with Woosung, a village

[1] Bingham, p. 328.

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at the junction of the Woosung river with the vast embouchure of the gigantic Yang-tse-kiang.

A steamer was appointed to each of the men-of-war[1] to the attack on Paoushan, near the village of Woosung. It was carried with little loss. It was decided to attack the city of Shanghae, a large commercial town, sixteen miles up the Woosung. On the 16th of June her Majesty's ship "Dido,"[2] accompanied by eight transports with troops, arrived.[3] The destruction of the military materials at Woosung and Paoushan being completed, the troops were, on the morning of the 19th, embarked on board the steamers.

Attack on Shanghae.—The troops proceeded to the intended point of attack, the Commander-in-chief accompanying the force in the "Medusa;" while a column,[4] under Lieutenant-colonel Montgomerie, approached it by a road that existed beetween Woosung and Changae. The enemy's batteries fired on the leading ship—hearing the firing, the troops having disembarked at the

[1] Bingham, p. 332. [2] Page 335. [3] From India.

[4] 18th royal Irish, 49th regiment, detachments Madras horse artillery, royal artillery, sappers and miners, and four light field guns, in all about one thousand men.

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city, Colonel Montgomerie pushed on his advance, and, finding no opposition, entered the town. The mandarins had fled the preceding night. While the force were occupied in the work of destruction, Sir W. Parker, with the light steamers, proceeded up the river, which he ascended thirty-seven miles in a direct line, or forty-seven, including the sinuosities above Changae.[1] The troops were embarked on the 23rd, and dropped down to Woosung.

Yang-tse-Kiang.—The "Belleisle," from England, and numerous transports from India having arrived with reinforcements,[2] the commanders-in-chief were enabled, on the 6th of July, to commence their operations up the Yang-tse-Kiang, with a force of seventy-three vessels of all arms.[3] "On the 17th of July Captain Bouchier, in the 'Blonde,' was despatched with a squadron[4] to blockade the entrance of the grand canal, and gained an admirable position for that object

[1] They were told that small steamers might reach Su-chan-foo, twenty-five miles higher up.

[2] Her Majesty's 98th from England, and Lord Saltoun; and troops from Madras and Bengal.

[3] Bingham, p. 340.

[4] "Modeste," "Dido," "Calliope," "Childers," "Plover," "Starling," and "Queen" and "Nemesis" steamers.

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above Kinsham. It was calculated that by this movement the passage of not less than seven hundred junks was interrupted, and consequently the whole trade with Pekin was cut off. On the 19th the 'Cornwallis,' towed by the 'Vixen,' succeeded in taking up a berth off the city of Tchang-Kiang, at the entrance of the south grand canal, while her marines occupied the island of Kinshan."

Attack on Tchang-Kiang.[1]—On the 21st of July, the reconnoissance being completed, and the ships being in position, the troops in three brigades commenced landing as early as possible :—

1st Brigade, under Major-general Lord Saltoun:[2]

26th Cameronians, Lieutenant-colonel Pratt.

Royal Volunteers, Lieutenant-colonel Lloyd.

Flank Companies, 41st Madras native infantry, Major Campbell.

98th Regiment, Lieutenant-colonel Campbell.

2nd Brigade, under Major-general Schoedde :

Royal Artillery, Captain Greenwood.

[1] Bingham, p. 344.

[2] Served in Sicily, 1806-7; Corunna, 1808-9; Walcherin, 1809; Cadiz, 1811; Peninsula; Quatre Bras and Waterloo; China, Chin-Keang-Foo.

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55th Regiment, Major Warren.
6th Madras native infantry, Lieutenant-colonel Driver.
Rifles, 36th Madras, Captain Simpson.
2nd Madras native infantry, Lieutenant-colonel Luard.
Detachment of sappers, Lieutenant Johnstone.

3rd Brigade, under Major-general Bartley:
18th Royal Irish, Major Cowper.
14th Madras native infantry, Major Young.
His Majesty's 49th Regiment, Lieut.-colonel Stephens.

The 2nd Brigade landed under the bluff height, and occupied the hills above it. They were directed to turn this diversion into a real attack, if it could be done without much loss. The first brigade was landed under the hills, accompanied by Sir H. Gough; the artillery and the 3rd Brigade followed. The General now obtained a good view of the enemy's encampment, in which there were about one thousand five hundred men. Lord Saltoun was, therefore, directed to move forward with such portions of his brigade as had first landed, and cut off the communication with the city. Majors

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Gough and Kent,[1] with three companies of Bengal volunteers, were directed to proceed by a path over some undulating ground, and fall on the enemy's right. These three companies were the first to come in contact with the enemy, by whom, probably, they were unobserved until they came close upon their flank. The whole encampment was quickly carried, and the fugitives followed up for some distance by the troops sent against them."

"The 26th, on landing, advanced to cover some guns which were being placed on a low hill to the west of the town, a strong position commanding the walls, which could thus be taken in reverse. The 3rd brigade having come up (and the canal being found to be fordable), it was decided to attack the western gate, and two guns, under Lieutenant Molesworth, Madras artillery, were placed to take the works in flank, while Captain Pears, under their cover, placed the powder bags and blew open the gates. This gave entrance to the troops into an out-work, and of which Captain Richards, of the "Cornwallis," with the marines, was already in posses-

[1] Lieutenant-colonel Lloyd and Major Kent commanded the 2nd Bengal volunteer battalions.

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sion by scaling the walls. The 2nd brigade got possession of the Joss-house, near the point where they landed. Covered by the rifles, the grenadiers of the 55th, with two companies of the Madras native infantry, under Major Maclean, advanced against the north-east angle of the walls, and mounted the scaling ladders placed by the sappers, Lieutenant Cuddy gallantly setting the example. The Tartars disputed every inch of ground; each embrasure was carried at the point of the bayonet, while the brigade, having separated to the right and left as they escaladed, fought their way along the walls.[1] It was about one hour and a half before this brigade made their way round to the western gate, where they arrived just as the 3rd brigade had carried the outer defences. "By these combined movements, a large body of Tartars were driven into a division of the western works, without a possibility of retreat, and, as they would not surrender, most of them were shot or buried under the ruins of the now burning houses."

[1] The author was informed that a very powerful Tartar, six feet and a-half high, advanced towards the head of her Majesty's 55th regiment, and seizing one of the men, threw him over the wall of the rampart.

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"The 3rd brigade was directed to move round the west face and occupy the gates to the south and east."[1] This brigade soon fell in with about one thousand Tartars under cover of some enclosures, who resisted, in many cases, with great desperation, but were quickly routed under the spirited attack of her Majesty's 18th and 49th. Sir W. Parker, with the marines, was strongly opposed by bodies of Tartars. The troops were too much exhausted to undertake any fresh movements till the close of day; the gates were, therefore, occupied until six o'clock.

Lieutenant Crouch, R.N.,[2] in command of the boats of the "Blonde," pushed up the canal close to the city wall. They were exposed to a severe fire. He received three wounds, and sixteen out of twenty seamen, two officers of artillery, and eight men were rendered *hors de combat*. He, with great presence of mind, saved the remainder of his boats. Captain Richards landed with two hundred marines, and, joined by three companies, 6th Madras native infantry, pushed through the suburbs to the walls. Ladders were raised against the parapet, thirty feet high. Commander Watson, with the marines of his ship, arrived.

[1] Bingham, p. 349. [2] Page, 350.

Lieutenant Baker, Commander Watson, Captain Richards, and a marine of the "Modeste," were the first to ascend; the two former were wounded, and the latter killed by the enemy's fire from the battlements of the western gate. They thus established themselves in the works between the outer and inner defences, where they were found by the 3rd brigade, which almost simultaneously had carried the outer gate; at which time, too, the 2nd brigade coming along the ramparts had cleared the inner one.

At six o'clock, P.M. several parties were pushed into the heart of the city, where the scene was most appalling. Numerous houses were found burnt to the ground; and many were strewed with the dead bodies of Tartars, who had fallen by their own hands, after having murdered their wives and children, and thrown their bodies into wells and other places. Others were suspended by the necks in closets, and behind the doors." The Tartar force in the city was estimated at between three and four thousand men. But few, it is said, escaped to Nankin.

List of the British killed and wounded, 21st July, 1842:—

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Killed—her Majesty's 49th regiment, Lieutenant T. P. Gibbons.

6th regiment Madras native infantry, Lieutenant-colonel Driver,[1] died from fatigue.

18th royal Irish, Captain Collinson.

Her Majesty's ship "Cornwallis," Brevet-major James Uniacke, royal marines, died from fatigue.

Four officers, two serjeants, twenty-nine rank and file, and two marines; total, thirty-seven.

Wounded—Royal artillery, Lieutenant J. N. A. Freere, slightly.

Madras artillery, Lieutenant C. D. Waddell, severely.

Assistant-surgeon C. Timmins, severely; Subadar Major Ramasawuy, slightly.

18th royal Irish, Lieutenant Bernard, slightly.

26th Cameronians, Ensign Duperier, slightly.

49th regiment, Lieutenant Baddely, dangerously; Lieutenant Grant, slightly.

55th regiment, Major Warren, severely; Lieutenant Cuddy, severely.

2nd Madras native infantry, Lieutenant Carr, Adjutant, slightly; Ensign Travers, slightly; Jemadar Mundah, slightly.

[1] He and several men fell victims to the sun.

36th native infantry, rifles, Captain Simpson, severely.

Her Majesty's ship "Cornwallis," Lieutenant James Fitzjames, severely.

"Blonde," Lieutenant E. Crouch, severely; Mr. H. T. Lyon, midshipman, slightly.

"Modeste," Commander R. L. Watson, slightly.

Wounded—Eighteen officers, one warrant officer, four serjeants, one drummer, thirty-six rank and file, fifteen seamen, and two marines; total, one hundred and twenty-seven.

Missing—One drummer, two rank and file.

The city was found to be about four miles in circumference, with a much larger suburb.[1] The arms and arsenals were destroyed, and the walls breached in many places. The cholera broke out among our troops,[2] and destroyed many men. The commanders-in-chief, to avert from Nankin the calamities that had befallen Tchang-Kiang, despatched the Tartar secretary with a summons and terms of capitulation to New-Kien, viceroy of the two Kiang provinces. Keeying and Elepoo again attempted to open communications, but

[1] Bingham, p. 354.

Most likely from the effects of the sun and fatigue, and probably drinking shamshoo.

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not being accredited with full powers, were disregarded.

On the 4th of August,[1] the "Cornwallis," and the other men-of-war, anchored off the ancient capital of China; Sir H. Pottinger, Sir H. Gough, and Lord Saltoun's brigade arrived next day; and by the 9th, the whole force of four thousand five hundred fighting men had assembled without an accident, with a fleet of seventy sail, at two hundred miles from the ocean, in the heart of the Celestial empire.

On the 11th August, 1842, everything was ready to attack Nankin.[2] It contained about one million inhabitants. The Tartar troops amounted to six thousand, and the Chinese regulars to nine thousand, together with a large body of militia. From the immense extent of wall to be defended, it was very evident that the city must have fallen, had not the Chinese sued for terms. They begged for forty-eight hour's time, as mandarins of the highest rank, deputed by the emperor to treat for peace, were actually approaching.

On the 17th August,[3] 1842, Sir H. Pottinger

[1] Bingham, p. 355.
[2] "The southern capital."
[3] Bingham, p. 360.

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communicated to the commanders-in-chiefs that the following treaty of peace had been signed by the imperial commissioner,[1] viz. :—

1. "Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires."

2. "China to pay twenty-one million dollars,[2] in the course of the present and three succeeding years."

3. "The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghae, to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed, to reside at them; and regular and just tariff of impost and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published."

4. "The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors."

5. "All subjects of her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released."

6. "An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial

[1] Kee-ying, Eleepo, and Gnu.

[2] Four million two hundred thousand pounds, at two shillings.

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sign manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service, or intercourse with, or resided under, the British government or its officers."

7. "Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality amongst the officers of both governments."

8. "On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first instalment, six million dollars, her Britannic Majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal, and the military posts at Chinhae to be withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Ko-long-soo are to be held until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the ports, be completed."

The emperor's assent having been intimated by an imperial edict on the 29th, vessels were despatched to the different Chinese ports, to remove the embargoes on their trade.[1] Bingham thinks[2] the "losses of the enemy, to say nothing of the wounded (vast numbers of whom probably

[1] Bingham, p. 362. There is a beautiful print of the reception of the Chinese commissioners and of Sir H. Pottinger, Sir H. Gough, Sir W. Parker, and their staff, &c.

[2] Bingham, p. 366.

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died) cannot have fallen much short of twenty thousand, exclusive of such as perished by disease." That China maintains at least one million of men for military service. That we captured and destroyed more than three thousand pieces of cannon, besides jinjals, &c. The Chinese navy, such as it was, was nearly annihilated. That the Chinese loss in treasure was great.[1]

	DOLLARS.
Found in the treasury at Ting-hai, on the 5th July, 1840	3
Paid for the ransom of Canton, and injury done to the British, May 1841 . . .	6,669,615
Treasury at Amoy, 26th August, 1841 .	20,000
Taken at Ning-po, 13th October, 1841 .	120,000
At Tchang-Kiang	50,000
Paid at Nankin, first instalment of indemnification for the war	6,000,000
To be paid before the expiration of three years	15,000,000
Total	27,859,618
	[2]£5,571,923

Then the value of two hundred tons of copper found at Chinhae, is to be added, worth about £20,000.

There was a grant to the officers who served

[1] Bingham, p. 368, including Sycee silver.

[2] Taking the dollar at four shillings.

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in China of eighteen, twelve, and six month's batta, according to the time they served with the expedition.

Canton and China trade—1781. Colonel Henry Watson, chief engineer of Fort William, in his letter dated 29th March, 1781, writing to government,[1] expressed his surprise at the Company and British subjects going to Canton, and pointed out the disadvantages of the monopoly of the Cohong merchants there. Asked why they fixed "upon Canton, the most southern part of the Chinese empire, as a general emporium for vending the produce of their respective northern climates; and was still more surprised at the continuance of their trade to that port only, since it has been known that their commerce with the other provinces was neither prohibited nor obstructed by the emperor's order." Alluded to the "attempts made by the English company in the years 1755, 1756, and 1757, to open a trade at the port of Limpo, in the province of Check-Yang." That British subjects had lost seven million Spanish dollars lent on bond.

[1] Ninth Report, 1783, Appendix No. 80, East Indian affairs.

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Chusan. "The island of Chusan,[1] or Chowsan, on which the British had a factory in 1700, is a miniature likeness of a vast chain of mountains, small streams flowing from its central heights, passing between the hills, which separate as they approach the sea, forming wide and extensive valleys, where boundary walls and embankments form large alluvial plains. That in which the city of Ting-hai is situated, has an embankment facing the sea, of full two miles in extent." The population of Chusan, he says, may be estimated at about two hundred and eighty thousand, at seven inhabitants per house, from reports in the public offices. "In 1700, there were three ports open for the reception of English vessels, viz., Limpo, Canton, and Amoy."[2] Chusan afterwards proved to be a very healthy island; and it is clear, that the great number of deaths in 1840 was caused by want of sanitary arrangements.

[1] Bingham, vol. i. p. 315. Fifty-one and a-half miles in circumference, twenty-one long, and ten and a-half miles broad.

[2] Hamilton's Gazetteer, p. 240, Canton. Bingham, vol. i. p. 295, says, the "Yang-tse-kiang" river (or "Child of the Ocean") is second only to the Mississippi and the Amazon; rises in Thibet, and, before reaching the sea, passes over two thousand seven hundred miles of country.

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CHAPTER VII.

WAR IN SINDH.

Affairs in Sindh. There had been treaties made with the ameers in Sindh on the 22nd August, 1809, and on the 9th November, 1820.[1] The East India Company had a factory at Tatta in 1751.[2] On the 20th April, 1832, a treaty was entered into between the East India Company and the government of Hyderabad in Sindh; and a supplementary treaty on the 22nd April, 1832, with Meer Roostum, of Khyrpoor,[3] regarding the navigation of the river Indus, and the levying of tolls or duties on the transit of merchandise. On 23rd December, 1834, a commercial treaty with the government of Hyderabad[4] was entered into, regulating the tolls on boats, instead of duties on goods, as the latter plan involved delay, and the examination of the goods. On the 20th April,

[1] Sindh "Blue Book," 1838-43, p. 1.
[2] Hamilton's Gazetteer and authorities.
[3] "Blue Book," pp. 2 and 3.
[4] "Blue Book," p. 4.

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1838, a treaty was entered into with the ameers of Sindh, to use our good offices to adjust the differences subsisting between the ameers of Sindh and Runjeet Sing, the ruler of Lahore; and also, that an accredited British minister should reside at the court of Hyderabad.[1] In 1839, a treaty with the four ameers of Hyderabad was entered into;[2] by Article xi. of which, it was declared that no toll was to be levied on trading boats passing up or down the river Indus within the territories of the ameers of Hyderabad; thus rendering the navigation of that river *free* to every one. By Article ii., a British force was to be maintained in Sindh, and stationed at Tatta, "or such other place westward of the river Indus as the Governor-general may select. The Governor-general will decide upon the strength of this force, which it is not intended shall exceed five thousand fighting men."[3] By Article x., the Company's rupee was to be the currency of Sindh, it being of equal value with the Bakkroo or Timooree rupee, the currency of Sindh.[4]

[1] "Blue Book," p. 5.

[2] Treaties with Sindh, p. 6, No. 8.

[3] Three lakhs rupees were to be yearly paid by three of the ameers.

[4] There was an intention to have a rupee of equal value all over India. It took place in 1835.

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Before the expedition to Cabool marched from Ferozpoor in December 1838, it had been settled with the ameers of Sindh, that the British troops were to march through that country, and the possession of the fort of Bukkur was afterwards obtained from the ameer of Khyrpoor, by treaty, to be held by the British during the operations in Affghanistan.[1] It was required as a depôt. When Sir W. Cotton arrived at Rohree in January 1839, Sir J. Keane and the Bombay troops were moving up from Kurrachee, towards Hyderabad. The treaty of 1839 had not been signed by the ameers, and as large bodies of the Beloochees were assembled, and assembling at that capital, a brigade of the Bengal troops made seven marches towards Hyderabad; when, hearing of the treaty having been signed, we returned to Sukkur, to prepare to move on to the Bolan Pass *en route* to Candahar.

On the 4th November, 1842,[2] a year after the outbreak at Cabool (2nd November), "a draft of a treaty between the ameers of Hyderabad and the British government was prepared:—

By Article 2. The Company's rupee was to

[1] See Affghan war.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 441, No. 392.

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become the only coin legally current in the dominions of the ameers, after the 1st January, 1845.[1]

By Article 5. The ameers renounced the privilege of coining money.[2]

The 6th Article relates to the cutting of wood for the steamers navigating the Indus.

By Article 7. Kurrachee and Tatta were to be ceded to the British government, and a free passage between Kurrachee and Tatta.

By Article 8. Subsulkote,[3] and the territory between the present frontier of Bhawulpoor and the town of Rohree, are ceded to his Highness of Bhawulpoor, "the ever faithful ally and friend of the British government."

Sir W. Napier says,[4] the Sindhian princes "were again excited by Nott's advance from Candahar; they judged it a forced abandonment of that important city; and though he afterwards destroyed Ghuznee, and, in conjunction with Pollock, ruined Istalif and Cabool, the apparently hurried retreat from Affghanistan which followed, bore,

[1] The date of the coinage of the Company's rupee throughout our Indian possessions.

[2] The act of coining is the right of the sovereign of a country.

[3] Which had been taken from the nawab by the ameers.

[4] "Conquest of Sindh," part i. p. 111.

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for the misjudging people, the character of a flight. It was viewed as a proof of weakness, and Belochis and Brahooes became more hopeful and more confident than before. The ameers of Upper and Lower Sindh consulted together, how best to league against the Feringhees; Seik vakeels were at Khyrpoor, ready to start for Lahore, loaded with presents for the Maharaja; and at the same time, letters came from the victorious Affghans, reminding the ameers that they were feudatories of the Doonaree empire, and exhorting them to act boldly in the common cause. These things led to the ameer's final destruction; they were the forerunners of the battle by which they fell; but their primary cause, it has been shown, was deeper seated. The Sindhian war was no isolated event. "*It was the tail of the Affghan storm.*" [1]

[1] It is a mistake to suppose that the army going to Cabool, could have proceeded altogether through the Punjab. Sir C. M. Wade, and the Sikh Mahommedan troops, went by that route. But even, on our return from Cabool with Lord Keane (October 1839), four months after Runjeet Sing's death, the Sikh chiefs made great objections to our passage through their country. It was the subject of negotiation, as our convoys were often leaving our provinces for Cabool. Besides, the Sindh treaty had not been signed.

Our reverses had, no doubt, induced the ameers of Sindh to expect our defeat in other quarters. Meer Roostum, of Khyrpoor, wrote to Meer Nusseer Khan, of Hyderabad, on the 21st October, 1842:—"I have received your friendly letter,[1] together with the Koran,[2] in which was written the agreement, bearing your seal, relative to war or peace, as it might happen, with the British, Sikhs, and others; they came safely to hand, by Mahomed Khan, Talpoor, and Moolla Buchal, your confidential messengers. The purport being, that I was to accept and approve of the Koran (containing the written compact), and to send one in return;[3] they also gave me your verbal message, and I was much pleased." "Not to place dependence upon them (our brothers), but to exert yourself in entertaining sepoys, and men of the Belooch tribe. Now is the time, whatever it may cost," &c.

The Bombay troops must have gone by the Bolan Pass and Candahar. The danger of invasion is not *via* Cabool, but by the route *via* Herat, Candahar, and Sindh.

[1] "Blue Book," p. 430, Appendix, No. 382.

[2] Writing an agreement or treaty, &c. in the Mahomedan bible is held most sacred.

[3] Such are sent, when writing letters is considered dangerous. The returned Koran is a proof of the acceptance of the agreement.

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Proposed agreement between Meer Roostum Khan and Meer Nusseer Khan.[1] "If Meer Nusseer Khan should be opposed by his brothers of Hyderabad, or any chiefs or rulers (but especially by the British Feringhees), I, Meer Roostum, will, without hesitation, come to his assistance with my brothers, sons, and the whole tribe." "I, Meer Roostum, will have no regard for life or death, prosperity or ruin, but will join Meer Nusseer with all my forces, without any dread of the consequences." Meer Roostum had formally and publicly resigned, and placed the turban on the head of Ali Moorad, his younger brother.[2] At last, Meer Roostum fled to Hyderabad.

Emaum Ghur in the desert.—In January, 1843, Sir C. Napier selected two hundred irregular cavalry, put three hundred and fifty of the 22nd Queen's regiment on camels, loaded ten more with provisions, eighty with water, and marched to take Emaum Ghur, having a garrison of four times his numbers, well provided.[3] The skirts of the waste swarming with thousands of

[1] "Blue Book," p. 431, No. 383.

[2] "Conquest of Sindh," part ii. p. 475, December 1842.

[3] "Conquest of Sindh," part ii. p. 237 to 241. "He forced Ali Morad and the native guide to go with him."

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Belooch horsemen. He took the fortress and then blew it up. The Duke of Wellington said in the House of Lords,—"Sir Charles Napier's march upon Emaum Ghur, is one of the most curious military feats which I have ever known to be performed, or have ever perused an account of in my life. He moved his troops through the desert against hostile forces; he had his guns transported under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and in a manner the most extraordinary, and he cut off a retreat of the enemy which rendered it impossible for them ever to regain their positions."

The treaty of the 4th of November, 1842, (before alluded to) was signed and sealed on the evening of the 14th of February, 1843;[1] but on the 15th, Major Outram,[2] was attacked at the residency near Hyderabad, by eight thousand men and six guns. Major Outram, after a gallant defence, went on board a steamer with his escort, and joined the army under Major-general Sir C. Napier.

Battle of Meeanee, 17th of February, 1843.—Sir Charles Napier heard of the account of the

[1] "Blue Book," p. 505.
[2] "Blue Book," p. 509.

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attack on Major Outram, at Hala. On the 16th of February,[1] Sir Charles marched to Muttare. "Having ascertained that the ameers were in position at Meeanee (ten miles distance) to the number of twenty-two thousand men; and well knowing that a delay for reinforcements, would both strengthen their confidence and add to their numbers, already seven times that which I commanded, I resolved to attack them, and we marched at four a. m., on the morning of the 17th. At eight o'clock the advanced guard discovered their camp; at nine we formed in order of battle, about two thousand eight hundred men of all arms and twelve pieces of artillery. We were now within range of the enemy's guns, and fifteen pieces of artillery opened upon us, and were answered by our cannon. The enemy were very strongly posted; woods were on their flanks, which I did not think could be turned. These two woods were joined by the dry bed of the river Fulaillee, which had a high bank. The bed of the river was nearly straight, and about twelve hundred yards in length. Behind this, and in both

[1] "Blue Book," p. 511, No. 473 Despatch. "Conquest of Sindh," part ii. p. 305.

woods were the enemy posted. In front of their extreme right, and on the edge of the wood, was a village. Having made the best examination of their position, which so short a time permitted, the artillery was posted on the right of the line, and some skirmishers of infantry with the Sindh irregular horse, were sent in front, to try and make the enemy show his force more distinctly, we then advanced from the right in *echelon* of battalions, refusing the left to save it from the fire of the village. The 9th Bengal light cavalry formed the reserve in rear of the left wing; and the Poona horse, togther with four companies of infantry, guarded the baggage. In this order of battle we advanced, as at a review, across a fine plain, swept by the cannon of the enemy. The artillery, and her Majesty's 22nd regiment in line, formed the leading *echelon;* the 25th native infantry, the 2nd; the 12th native infantry, the 3rd; and the 1st grenadier native infantry, the 4th.

"The enemy was one thousand yards from our line, which soon traversed the intervening space. Our fire of musketry opened at about one hundred yards from the bank, in reply to that of the enemy, and in a few minutes the engagement

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became general along the bank of the river, on which the combatants fought, for about three hours or more with great fury, man to man. Then, my lord, was seen the superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword and shield, and matchlock. The brave Beloochees, first discharging their matchlocks and pistols, dashed over the bank with desperate resolution, but down went these bold and skilful swordsmen under the superior power of the musket and bayonet. At one time, my lord, the courage and numbers of the enemy against the 22nd, the 25th, and the 12th regiments, bore heavily in that part of the battle. There was no time to be lost, and I sent orders to the cavalry to force the right of the enemy's line. This order was very gallantly executed by the 9th Bengal cavalry[1] and the Sindh

[1] Before the order arrived, Captain (now major) A. Tucker, 9th light cavalry, had urged Colonel Pattle to move to turn the enemy's right flank, and charge their rear, with the view of checking their advance. Colonel Pattle did not, at first, like to take upon himself the responsibility, but at last did, and the corps was moving off when Sir Charles's aide-de-camp came up. The author has Colonel Pattle's own statement in his possession, and has seen an official letter from a brigade major regarding the case. The despatch had been sent off before the statement was communicated.

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horse, the details of which shall be afterwards stated to your lordship, for the struggle on our right and centre was, at that moment, so fierce, that I could not go to the left. In this charge the 9th light cavalry took a standard and several pieces of artillery, and the Sindh horse took the enemy's camp, from which a vast body of their cavalry slowly retired, fighting. Lieutenant Fitzgerald gallantly pursued them for two miles, and, I understand, slew three of the enemy in single combat. The brilliant conduct of these two cavalry regiments, in my opinion, was the crisis of the action, for, from the moment the cavalry were seen in the rear of their right flank, the resistance of our opponents slackened; the 22nd regiment forced the bank, the 25th and 12th did the same, the latter regiment capturing several guns, and the victory was decided. The artillery made great havoc among the dense masses of the enemy, and dismounted several of their guns. The whole of the enemy's artillery, ammunition, standards, and camp, with considerable stores, and some treasure, were taken."

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List of killed and wounded.[1]

	OFFICERS.	MEN.	HORSES.
9th light cavalry, killed . . .	1	3	9
„ „ wounded . .	5	29	35
Sindh horse, killed	0	0	23
„ wounded . . .	0	17	21
2nd company 2nd battalion camel battery, wounded . .	0	2	2
3rd company 3rd battalion Golundaze horse and mule battery, killed	0	1	0
„ „ wounded	0	2	4
C. company Madras sappers and miners, wounded	0	1	0
Her Majesty's 22nd regiment, killed	1	23	0
„ „ wounded	5	49	0
1st grenadier regiment native infantry, killed	0	1	0
„ „ wounded	0	4	0
12th regiment native infantry, killed	3	12	0
„ „ wounded	2	45	0
25th regiment native infantry, killed	1	16	0
„ „ wounded	2	28	0
Staff, wounded	1	0	0
„ killed	0	0	1
Total	21	233	95
Killed . . . 6	56	33	
Wounded . . 16	177	62	
Grand total . 22	233	95	

[1] Blue Book, p. 514.

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Officers Killed.

Lieutenant-brevet Captain Adjutant Cookson, 9th Bengal light cavalry.

Captain Tew, his Majesty's 22nd.

Brevet-Major Jackson, 12th Bombay native infantry.

Brevet-Captain Meade, 12th Bombay native infantry.

Lieutenant Wood, 12th Bombay native infantry.

Major Teesdale, 25th Bengal native infantry.

Officers Wounded.

Captain A. Tucker, 9th light cavalry.

Brevet-Captain S. Smith, 9th light cavalry.

Lieutenant H.G.C. Plowden, 9th light cavalry.

Ensign J. H. Firth, 39th native infantry.

Lieutenant-colonel J. L. Pennefather, her Majesty's 22nd regiment.

Captain Conway, her Majesty's 22nd regiment.

Lieutenant F. P. Harding, her Majesty's 22nd regiment.

Ensign R. Pennefather, her Majesty's 22nd regiment.

Ensign H. Bowden, her Majesty's 22nd regiment.

Ensign Holbrow, 12th native infantry.

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Lieutenant Quarter-master Phayre, 25th native infantry.

Lieutenant Bourdillon, 25th native infantry.

Major Wyllie, assistant-adjutant-general.

"Meer Roostum Khan, Meer Nusseer Khan, and Meer Wullee Mahomed, of Khyrpoor, Meer Nusseer Khan, Meer Shadad Khan, and Meer Hoossein Khan, all of Hyderabad," surrendered themselves as prisoners of war in Sir Charles's camp.

The enemy's force was said to be twenty-five thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.[1] The British force two thousand four hundred, deducting two hundred men with Major Outram. But only one thousand seven hundred and eighty were said to be engaged, as the Poona horse and four companies of infantry guarded the baggage. In extreme cases even a baggage guard may be called into action. It appears that on the 25th of December, 1842,[2] the late Shah Shoojah's regiments, and 19th Bengal native infantry, under the command of Brigadier Wallace, left Rohree *en route* to Ferozpoor. The Governor-general, on the 24th of November, 1842, wrote to Sir Charles—"If you should not have detained the

[1] "Conquest of Sindh," part iii. p. 504, Appendix.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 481.

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brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel Wallace, it would be desirable to recal it, or at least to halt it, upon making your demands.[1] I am very desirous of effecting our purpose without bloodshed, and the presence of a preponderating force may enable us to do this." Sir W. Napier says,[2] "On the 14th of February the ameers sent messengers to Major Outram, commanding him to be gone; for they now perceived their hope to get the general into their hands was illusive, and they desired to push the troops at the residency into the confusion of embarkation, that they might attack them to advantage." Major Outram, whether he expected hostilities or not, "had sent orders to stop the 41st regiment, then on its way to Kurrachee, to embark for Bombay (they had not reached Tatta); thus taking upon himself to interfere with a positive order of the Governor-general, which directed that regiment to embark immediately."[3] Major Clibborn

[1] "Blue Book," p. 458, par. 7. The new treaty had not been signed.—He had been allowed to retain them. "Conquest of Sindh," part i. p. 140.

[2] "Conquest of Sindh," part ii. p. 288.

[3] It has been said that Sir Charles could not stop the 41st foot on their way down the Indus. He was only a few miles from the bank of the river, and a sum of money, in India, will always induce some one to take a letter anywhere.

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writes,[1] on the 24th of November, 1842—"Futteh Mahomed Ghoree[2] goes occasionally to the servants of Colonel Pattle, 9th cavalry, to pump out the intentions of the English. He writes to Meer Roostum to be under no apprehension, as the Bengal regiments are certainly to leave for Ferozpoor in a few days hence." On the other hand, Mahomed Shah "writes daily for Meer Nusseer Khan's information, to warn them to be on their guard, as the English will certainly bear down on them at Khyrpoor, and that there is no intention of the troops moving on to Ferozpoor." Sir Charles also knew that by delay, even to the 18th of February, the ameers counted on having sixty thousand fighting men.[3] Sir Charles had left troops under Colonel Roberts at Sukkur. Why then send away Lieutenant-colonel Wallace's force? The district granted to him might have been made over to the Khan of Bhawulpoor, after the treaty had been signed and affairs had been settled.

Shere Mahomed, of Meerpoor,[4] was within six

[1] "Blue Book," p. 461. Intelligence from Sindh.
[2] Prime minister of Meer Roostum.
[3] "Conquest of Sindh," part ii. pp. 293, 304.
[4] "Conquest of Sindh," part ii. pp. 324, 326.

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miles of the battle of Meeanee, intending to have joined on the 18th of February. Sir W. Napier says it was an error not to attack Shere Mahomed. "It produced another terrible battle, and went nigh to cause the destruction of the army." Sir Charles took possession of Hyderabad. That gave him a strong position.[1] He applied for reinforcements, and Lord Ellenborough sent more troops as soon as he heard a rumour of the battle of Meeanee from a native source. Of the battle of Meeanee the Duke of Wellington said,[2] "He gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a position in which he was not again likely to be attacked. Not only did he secure Hyderabad, and the portion of the Indus which lay in his rear; he brought up a reinforcement, and placed himself at the head of a stronger army than that which he commanded before the battle. He manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations in war." It has been said that Sir Charles acknow-

[1] Five hundred men reserved for a garrison. He then ordered down the troops from Sukkur.

[2] "Conquest of Sindh," p. 330. Speech; debate on the vote of thanks.

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ledged he committed an error in sending away the Bengal troops.

Annexation of Sindh. Sir W. Napier says,[1] "It was perplexing at first to decide how the ameers were to be treated, and this perplexity impeded the measures necessary for the security of the army; were they prisoners of war, or deposed princes? The battle had altered the political relations between them, as sovereign princes and the Anglo-Indian government. It was no longer a question of enforcing a new treaty. They had appealed to the sword, and were, by defeat, placed at the mercy of their conquerors. How would the Governor-general treat them? This question was decided on the 12th of March, twenty-four days after the action of Meeanee. Lord Ellenborough, by proclamation, annexed Sindh to the British possessions in the east, and the ameers were to be sent captives to Bombay."

The battle of Dubba, four miles from Hyderabad, 24th of March, 1843.—Shere Mahomed, of Meerpoor, was at the head of about twenty-five thousand men.[2] He had threatened to

[1] "Conquest of Sindh," p. 334.

[2] "Conquest of Sindh," p. 339. Sir W. Napier says twenty-five thousand to forty thousand men. Page 354 gives twenty-six thousand men.

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"Cabool the English." At break of day, on the 24th of March, five thousand fighting men were under arms in front of the British camp;[1] of these, one thousand one hundred were cavalry, and there were nineteen guns, five being horse artillery. Two pieces were left to defend the camp, seventeen remained with the army. Dubba is eight miles north-west of Hyderabad. The enemy had twenty-five thousand men and fifteen guns, eleven of which were in battery. Two lines of infantry were entrenched, and behind them a heavy mass of cavalry in reserve. Their right rested on the Fullaillee, the bed of which, though generally dry, had at that point a large pond of mud protecting the flank, and beyond the nullah was a thick shikargah, which prevented the position being turned. Another nullah there was to the rear of the former, forming an obtuse angle to the front line, and there the left of the enemy's army was posted. Thus the true front of battle extended from the right, for one mile perpendicularly to the Fullaillee, presenting, what may be termed, the right wing and centre to an attack; but the left wing, behind the second nullah, was refused. All the cavalry were behind the left in

[1] "Conquest of Sindh," p. 375.

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one great mass; and behind the right wing stood the village of Dubba or Naraja. Between the first line of the right and centre and the village of Dubba was a second nullah. Both had ramps for advancing or retreating. The enemy's second line was placed near the second and largest nullah, behind which were the enemy's guns. He had cleared the low jungle in front of his line.

The British force marched from Hyderabad in column and formed line, but the left was too near the right of the enemy's line.[1] This was afterwards remedied by throwing the left back a little. The cavalry were on the flanks, and the artillery, in the intervals, between the regiments. Then, the right was a little refused; for there was a wood towards that flank. Sir Charles expected an attack from that quarter, and threw forward the cavalry of that wing. He found that the enemy outflanked him on the right about half a mile, and still had their cavalry in reserve. But he could not see the double lines and nullahs containing their centre and right. Dubba appeared empty. Major Waddington, engineers, and Lieutenants Brown and Hill, rode close up

[1] "Conquest of Sindh," p. 379.

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to the centre of the Beloochee position, and along the front to the junction of the centre with the left. They thus forced the enemy to show his first line for two-thirds of its extent. Several of the ramps for passing the nullah were discovered. Sir Charles[1] "put his troops in motion to attack; preserving here, as at Meeanee, the *echelon* order, and hoping by his promptness to gain, not only the nullah at its junction with the Fullaillee, but to pass it, and seize the village of Dubba also, before the Beloochs could arrive there in force." Sir Charles, in his despatch,[2] says, "The British line advanced in *echelons* from the left, her Majesty's 22nd regiment leading the attack. The enemy was now perceived to move from his centre, in considerable bodies, to the left, apparently retreating, unable to sustain the cross fire of the British artillery; on seeing which, Major Stack,[3] at the head of the 3rd cavalry, under command of Captain Delamain, and the Sindh horse, under the command of Captain Jacob, made a charge upon the enemy's left

[1] "Conquest of Sindh," p. 382.

[2] "Annual Register," 1843, p. 353, History.

[3] Sir W. Napier finds fault with this charge made without orders.

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flank, crossing the nullah, and cutting down the retreating enemy for several miles.[1] While this was passing on the right, her Majesty's 22nd regiment, gallantly led by Major Poole, who commanded the brigade, and Captain George, who commanded the corps, attacked the nullah on the left with great gallantry." They "marched up till within forty paces of the entrenchment, and then stormed it like British soldiers." "Meanwhile, the Poona horse, under Captain Tait, and the 9th Bengal cavalry, under Major Story, turned the enemy's right flank, pursuing and cutting down the fugitives for several miles. Her Majesty's 22nd was well supported by the batteries commanded by Captains Willoughby and Hutt, which crossed their fire with that of Major Leslie. Then came the 2nd brigade, under command of Major Woodburn, bearing down into action with excellent coolness. It consisted of the 25th, 21st, and 12th regiments, under the command of Captains Jackson, Stevens, and Fisher, respectively. These regiments were

[1] Sir W. Napier says, "He thus exposed the flank of the line of battle, and exposed the whole army to a defeat, if the wood had really been filled with the selected division of Beloochs," &c., p. 385.

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strongly sustained by the fire of Captain Witley's battery, on the right of which were the 8th and 1st regiments, under Majors Browne and Clibborne: these two corps advanced with the regularity of a review up to the entrenchments, their commanders, with considerable exertion, stopping their fire, on seeing that a portion of the Sindh horse and 3rd cavalry, in charging the enemy, had got in front of the brigade. The battle was decided by the troop of horse artillery and her Majesty's 22nd regiment."[1]

The Duke of Wellington, said of Sir C. Napier, in the House of Lords on the 12th February, 1844, on the occasion of the vote of thanks to the army in Sindh,[2] "He manifested at all times entire discretion and prudence in the formation of his plans, great activity in making the preparations which were necessary to insure success;—and, finally, great zeal, gallantry, and science, in carrying his plans and preparations into full execution." His march upon Emaum Ghur was one of the most curious military feats which he

[1] At the battle of Dubba, Sir Charles "turned both the enemy's wings, and thus rendered their centre of less importance, and which their defeat weakened. At Meanee we could only turn the enemy's right flank.

[2] "Annual Register," 1843, p. 355, Extract.

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had ever known to be performed, or had ever perused an account of in his life. He moved his troops through the desert against hostile forces; he had his guns transported under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and in a manner the most extraordinary; and he cut off a retreat of the enemy, which rendered it impossible for them ever to regain their positions." And "the advance and attack of which he had been speaking, resulted in another brilliant victory, in which he again showed all the qualities of an excellent general officer, and in which the army displayed all the best qualities of the bravest troops."

The British loss was,[1] two hundred and seventy officers and men, of which number, one hundred and forty-seven were of her Majesty's 22nd regiment. The enemy lost about eight thousand,[2] as allowed by themselves.

After this victory,[3] Sir C. Napier marched southward, and took possession of Meerpoor; and on the 4th of April, the fortress of Omercote, to the east of Hyderabad, opened its gates to the British forces. Shere Mahomed, though a fugi-

[1] "Conquest of Sindh," p. 389.
[2] "Conquest of Sindh," p. 457.
[3] "Annual Register," 1843, p. 356.

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tive, was preparing for a fresh attack, when Sir Charles resolved, if possible, to surround and cut him off, by dividing his army into three detachments. On the 8th of June, Colonel Roberts engaged, and totally defeated, one of the hostile ameers, Shah Mahomed, at the head of two thousand men, taking their leader prisoner. And on the 14th, Captain Jacob was attacked by Shere Mahomed himself, and four thousand Beloochees, whom he completely routed; the ameer, with very few followers, escaping with difficulty into the desert. Shortly afterwards, Lord Ellenborough appointed Sir C. Napier governor of Sindh. Towards the close of the Sikh campaign, 1845-6, Sir C. Napier marched *via* Mooltan, with a portion of his force from Sindh. He went on a-head with an escort, and reached army head quarters after the battle of Sobraon. He was present at the review at Lahore.

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CHAPTER VIII.

GWALIOR.

Affairs of Gwalior.[1] Under the treaty of Boorhanpoor (1804), contracted with the Maharaja Dowlut Rao Sindia, the British government engaged to maintain a force, to be at all times ready on the requisition of the maharaja, to protect the person of the maharaja, his heirs, and successors, &c. The Governor-general, on the 20th December, 1843, issued a proclamation, stating, that on the decease of the late Maharaja Jhunkajee Rao Sindia,[2] the British government

[1] "Annual Register," 1843, p. 362, History; Treaty 27th February, 1804. Wilson (Mill), vol. vi. p. 547.

[2] He succeeded Dowlut Rao on the 18th June, 1827.—Wilson, vol. ix. p. 212. It is stated that when Dowlut Rao was on his death bed, they sent for the late Major Stewart, resident at Gwalior, on the 21st March, 1827, who went to see him, and learn his wishes as to his successor. "I wish you to do whatever you think proper." ("*Jo toom monasib jano so kuro.*") Captain J. D. Dyke (of the Bengal cavalry, and assistant) was present; he retired in 1835. Dr. Panton (late physician-general, Bengal) came in afterwards. Thus one of our bitterest enemies at last had confidence in the British government of India. Bazee Bae was the maharanee alluded to.

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promptly acknowledged as his successor, the Maharaja Jyajee Rao Sindia, who was nearest in blood to the late maharaja, and whose adoption by the maharanee, his highness's widow, was approved of by the chiefs. The maharanee and the chiefs concurred in conferring the dignity and power of regent during the minority of the maharaja, upon the Mama Saheb. The British government communicated to the durbar its entire approval of this measure; and the British resident, in the presence of the chiefs, explained to the regent, that he was recognised as the responsible head of the Gwalior state; and, as such, would receive the support of the British government. This declaration appeared to give general satisfaction. Nevertheless, after a short time, the Mama Saheb was violently compelled to quit the Gwalior state, in despite of the remonstrance of the British resident. The Dada Khasgee[1] Walla succeeded to the confidence of the maharanee,[2]

[1] Khasjee.

[2] The Poona Observer, 15th May, 1852, states, "From Gwalior we learn that her highness the Baeza Bhae, who has for some time past been residing at Oojein, the capital of Rajpootana, has deputed her minister, Govindrow Jeyram, to the durbar, with a present of the enormous sum of twelve lakhs of rupees (£120,000), on the occasion of her

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without possessing generally that of the chiefs, and by his influence, various acts were committed, insulting and injurious to the British government." The dada had committed acts hostile to the British government, and had concealed from the knowledge of the maharanee, and of the durbar, a letter addressed to the maharanee, conveying the sentiment of government. This was regarded as an act of usurpation of the sovereign authority in the Gwalior state, and the government insisted on the person of the dada being given up, to prevent his pernicious influence; and then to establish a strong government. An army had been marched towards Gwalior, with a view to prove the determination of the British government to have their demand complied with. The army had halted at Hingona for five days, and the Mahrattah vakeels had an interview with the Governor-general. The crafty enemy had continued the negotiations with the view of gaining time to assemble, and concentrate his forces. The Governor-general determined upon active measures of hostility.

grand-daughter, who is married to his highness Jyajeerow Sindia, having attained the age of puberty." — Allen's Indian Mail, 29th June, 1852, p. 391.

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Battle of Maharajpoor.[1] On the 29th December, 1843, the main division crossed the Koharee river early in the morning. They found the Mahrattah forces drawn up in front of the village of Maharajpoor, in a very strong position, which they had occupied during the previous night, and which they had carefully intrenched. The British troops were about fourteen thousand men, with forty pieces of artillery;[2] and the Mahrattahs mustered eighteen thousand men, including three thousand cavalry, with one hundred guns. The action commenced by the gallant advance of Major-general Littler's[3] column upon the enemy, in front of the village of Maharajpoor; and the charge was successful, although the Mahrattah troops fought with desperate bravery. Sir Hugh Gough, in his despatch, states, "I must do justice to the gallantry of their opponents, who received the shock without flinching, their guns doing severe execution as we advanced; but nothing could withstand the rush of British soldiers.

[1] "Annual Register," 1843, p. 366.

[2] General Sir H. Gough marched from Agra, and it had been decided to take fifty battering guns. Owing to the pacific appearance of the state of affairs, forty of the battering guns were left at Agra.

[3] Lieut.-general Sir J. H. Littler, G.C.B.

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Her Majesty's 39th foot, with their accustomed dash, ably supported by the 56th native infantry, drove the enemy from their guns into the village, bayonetting the gunners at their posts. Here a most sanguinary conflict ensued; the Mahrattah troops, after discharging their matchlocks, fought sword in hand with the most determined courage. General Valiant's brigade, with equal enthusiasm, took Maharajpoor in reverse, and twenty-eight guns were captured by this combined movement; so desperate was the resistance, that very few of the defenders of this very strong position escaped. During these operations, Brigadier Scott was opposed by a body of the enemy's cavalry on the extreme left, and made some well-executed charges with the 10th light cavalry, most ably supported by Captain Grant's troop of horse artillery, and 4th lancers, capturing some guns, and taking two standards, thus threatening the right flank of the enemy."

"In conformity with the previous instructions, Major-general Valiant, supported by the 3rd cavalry brigade, moved on the right of the enemy's position at Chonda. During the advance Major-general Valiant had to take, in succession, three strong intrenched positions, where the

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enemy defended their guns with frantic desperation; her Majesty's 40th regiments losing two successive commanding officers, Major Stopford and Captain Coddington, who fell wounded at the very muzzles of the guns, and capturing four regimental standards. This corps was ably and nobly supported by the 2nd grenadiers, who captured two regimental standards, and by the 2nd and 16th grenadiers, under Lieutenant-colonels Hamilton and M'Laren; too much praise cannot be given to these regiments. Major-general Littler, with Brigadier Wright's brigade, after dispersing the right of the enemy's position at Maharajpoor, steadily advancing to fulfil his instructions of attacking the main position at Chonda, in front, supported most ably by Captain Grant's troop of horse artillery, and the 1st regiment of light cavalry; this column had to advance under a very severe fire, over very difficult ground; but when within a short distance, again the rush of the 39th regiment,[1] as before, under Major Bray, gallantly supported by the 56th regiment, under Major Dick, carried every thing before them, and thus gained the intrenched main position of Chonda."[2]

[1] "Primus in Indis" at Plassey in 1757.

[2] Chounda.

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The battle was now in effect won; but the loss on both sides was severe. The British had one hundred and six killed, six hundred and eighty-four wounded, seven missing, total, seven hundred and ninety-seven. Seven officers were killed or died of their wounds.[1] The Mahrattah's are said to have lost between three thousand and four thousand men.

The corps present in the battle were :—

Governor-general's Body-guard.

Cavalry—1st light cavalry, 4th lancers, detachments, 5th and 8th, 10th light cavalry, 4th irregular cavalry.

Infantry—Her Majesty's 39th and 40th regiments, 2nd native infantry (grenadiers'), 14th, 16th (grenadiers'), 31st, 39th (6th company), 43rd (light infantry), 56th Kelat-i-Ghiljee regiment (flank companies).[2]

Battle of Punniar.[3]—Likewise, on the 29th of

[1] Among these, Major-general Churchill, quarter-master-general H.M.T.

[2] Lord Ellenborough, Lady Gough and other ladies, were with the army in advance, not expecting an attack, when the enemy opened a fire from their guns.

[3] "Annual Register," 1843, p. 367.

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December, 1843, another decided victory was gained over the enemy by Major-general Grey, The troops under his command were :—

Cavalry—Two squadrons, 2nd light cavalry; two squadrons, 5th light cavalry; 8th irregular cavalry.

Infantry—Her Majesty's 50th regiment; 39th, 50th, 51st, and 58th native infantry.

The Mahrattah force was estimated at twelve thousand in number. General Grey, having advanced from Bundelcund, reached Punniar, about twelve miles from Gwalior, on the 28th of December. The enemy took up a strong position on the heights, near the fortified village of Mangore. They were immediately attacked, and driven from height to height by our troops, who were much fatigued by their long march. Our loss was two hundred and fifteen killed and wounded.

The consequence of these two victories was the submission of the Mahrattah Durbar to the demands of the British government. Lieutenant-colonel Stubbs was appointed by the Maharanee, Governor of the fort of Gwalior, which commands the city; the Mahrattah troops were

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disbanded, and a British contingent was formed, consisting of four companies of artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and seven regiments of infantry; to be maintained at the cost of the Gwalior government, which was also to pay forthwith the expenses of the campaign.

The Governor-general issued the following proclamation on the occasion of these victories :—

"Camp, Gwalior Residency,
"*4th January*, 1844.

"The Governor-general directs the publication of the annexed despatch from his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, reporting the operations of the corps under his Excellency's immediate command, and of that under the command of Major-general Grey, against the mutinous troops which overawed and controlled the government of his highness the Maharaja Jyajee Rao Scinda, and attacked the British forces on their advances to Gwalior to his highness's support.

"The Governor-general deeply laments the severe loss in killed and wounded which has been sustained in these operations; but it has been sustained in the execution of a great and necessary service, and the victories of Maharajpoor and

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Punniar, while they have shed new glory upon the British army, have restored the authority of the Maharaja, and have given new security to the British empire in India. The Governor-general cordially congratulates his Excellency, the commander-in-chief, upon the success of his able combinations, by which two victories were obtained on the same day, and the two wings of the army, proceeding from different points, have now been united under the walls of Gwalior."

Before the battle of Maharajpoor a reconnoissance had taken place, and Maharajpoor was not occupied the evening before by the enemy. The plan of attack had been formed for the attack on Chonda where their infantry and guns were expected to be found. Brigadier Valliant's brigade was to have taken the lead, and Major-general Littler's brigade was in the rear of the proposed attack. When the enemy unexpectedly opened a fire from the village of Maharajpoor, the rear column became the attacking column on Maharajpoor, which was in rear of the Chonda entrenchment. There were ten eighteen-pounders with the army which might have been employed against Maharajpoor, and then against Chonda with good effect.

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CHAPTER IX.

CONQUEST OF THE PUNJAB.[1]

"AURUNGZEB ('the ornament of the throne,') was the last of the race of Tymoor, who possessed a genius for command." He died in 1707. At his death the Mohammedan government began to decline, and it weakness favoured the Sikh nation, as well as those chiefs, both Mohammedan and Hindoo, who desired to become independent princes. In 1763, the Sikhs defeated the Affghans near Sirhind, and permanently became masters of the province. The Sikhs became masters of Lahore in 1764.[2] Tymoor Shah, who had succeeded Ahmed Shah in 1773, died in 1793, leaving the Sikhs masters of the Upper Punjab as far as Attok.[3] Runjeet Sing was born about 1780, and succeeded his father Muha Sing in 1792,[4] who had made himself pre-eminent among the Sikhs.

[1] "History of the Sikhs," by Captain J. D. Cunningham, Bengal engineers, (1849,) p. 97.

[2] "History of the Sikhs," p. 110.

[3] "History of the Sikhs," p. 123.

[4] "History of the Sikhs," p. 126.

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In 1799, Runjeet obtained the cession of Lahore from the Affghan king. It is said that at the battle of Delhi (11th of September, 1803,) five thousand Sikhs swelled the army of our enemy.[1] In 1805, when Holkar marched into the Punjab, Runjeet Sing refused to give him aid in operations against the English.[2] We then entered into a treaty with the Sikhs. In 1809, we took under our protection the Sikh states on the south-side of the Sutlej at the request of the chiefs, and formed a treaty with Runjeet Sing upon that occasion.[3] The mistake made on that occasion was in not endeavouring for a money equivalent, to obtain certain districts, on the south side, which belonged to Runjeet or to his chiefs. The British cantonment at Loodianah was then established.

In 1824, "Runjeet Sing had now brought under his sway the three Mohammedan provinces of Cashmeer, Mooltan, and Peshawur: he was supreme in the hills and plains of the Punjab Proper; the mass of his dominion had been acquired."[4] When Appa Sahib, ex-raja of Nagpoor, escaped from the custody of the British

[1] "History of the Sikhs," p. 135.
[2] Page 136.
[3] Page 149.
[4] Page 173.

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authorities, and repaired to Lahore, Runjeet Sing, learning that he was a violent enemy of his English allies, ordered him to quit his territories.[1] In 1825, when the English army marched to besiege Bhurtpoor, Runjeet Sing was pressed to aid the Jhat prince, but he declined.[2] These two cases alone prove that Runjeet Sing studiously avoided giving offence to the English, with whose power he could not cope; while the history of British India had indicated to his mind, what would be the result of a war with our government. There was a meeting at Roopur on the Sutlej in 1831, regarding the navigation of the Indus and other matters.[3] In the same year,[4] he gave up his views on Sindh, particularly as regarded Shikarpoor, on our remonstrances. In 1838, Runjeet Sing entered into the treaty with the English for the restoration of Shah Shoojah at Cabool.[5] Finally, he died on the 27th of June, 1839.

[1] "History of the Sikhs," p. 175.

[2] Runjeet told this to Sir C. M. Wade, and asked what we should have done had he joined; the reply was, "We should have attacked you, and then have undertaken the siege." "No," said Runjeet, "I always resolved to be your friend."

[3] Page 204. [4] Page 207. [5] Page 232.

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" Khurruk Sing, the imbecile son of Maharaja Runjeet Sing was acknowledged as the master of the Punjab;[1] but Sher Sing, the reputed son of the deceased king, at once urged his superior claim or merits on the attention of the British viceroy; and Nao Nihal Sing, the real offspring of the titular sovereign, hastened from Peshawur to take upon himself the duties of ruler.[2] Maharaja Khurruk Sing died on the 5th of November, 1840.[3] While attending his father's funeral, Nao Nihal Sing, now king *de jure*, was killed. Sher Sing was proclaimed king."[4] In 1841, " Sher Sing had induced the troops of the state to make him king, but he was unable to command them as soldiers, or to sway them as men."[5] He was a " good natured voluptuary." The Sikh troops were uncontrollable. The British agent on the Sutlej proposed to march to the Sikh capital with twelve thousand men, to beat and disperse a rebel

[1] " History of the Sikhs," p. 237.

[2] He left the Sikh force at Peshawur, sent there to aid the expedition in favour of Shah Shoojah, *en route* to Cabool in 1839.

[3] " History of the Sikhs," p. 244.

[4] " History of the Sikhs," pp. 245, 248; latterly acknowledged as his son by Runjeet Sing.

[5] " History of the Sikhs," p. 249.

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army four times more numerous.[1] The Governor-general was not prepared for a virtual invasion, although he was ready to use force if a large majority of the Sikhs as well as the Maharaja himself desired such intervention.[2] The disorders in the Sikh army subsided; but the people became suspicious of the English.

No doubt, the chiefs took a dislike to Sher Sing on account of his aiding the English cause. It was currently spoken of, that the chiefs wished him to refuse a passage to our troops, and to attack General Pollock on his return from Cabool. Sher Sing was assassinated by Ajeet Sing, on the 15th September, 1843, when present at a review of his troops.[3] Dhuleep Sing was proclaimed maharaja,[4] and Heera Sing[5] was raised to the high and fatal office of vizier.

The power of the army was increased by the new minister (Heera Sing) raising the pay of the soldiers, by adding two and a-half rupees, or five

[1] "History of the Sikhs," p. 251.

[2] This was talked of at the time in Calcutta.

[3] "History of the Sikhs," p. 270.

[4] Colonel Steinbach, p. 36, says, "a reputed son of the late Runjeet Sing," a boy of ten years of age.

[5] Son of Raja Dhian Sing, and nephew of Golab Sing of Cashmeer.

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shillings, a month. The army felt that it had become the master of the state. Heera Sing professed suspicions of the English,[1] and was guided by Pundit Julla; and both were put to death.[2] The Sikh army moved against Jummoo; Golab Sing submitted, and repaired to Lahore. The Sikh army became all powerful.[3] Lall Sing (the favourite of the maharanee) was made vizier, and Tej Sing, commander-in-chief, in expectation of our English war. The English government had long expected that it would be forced into a war. The Sikh army was so little under control, that the Lahore government "considered that the only chance of retaining power was to have the army removed, by inducing it to engage in a contest, which, they believed, would end in its dispersion."[4] "War with the English was virtually declared on the 17th November; a few days afterwards, the troops began to move in detachments from Lahore; they commenced crossing the Sutlej, between Hurreekee and Kus-

[1] "History of the Sikhs," p. 276.

[2] "History of the Sikhs," p. 281.

[3] "History of the Sikhs," p. 288.

[4] "History of the Sikhs," p. 299. The army called upon Lall Sing, the minister, to join the army in December, 1845.

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soor, on the 11th December; and on the 14th of that month, a portion of the army took up a position within a few miles of Ferozpoor." It must be remarked, that the Sikhs held some territory on the English side of the Sutlej, and hence they might cross over to their own portion of the territory so situated, where, indeed, they were allowed to have some troops for police purposes. How the Sikhs could have crossed over all at once, without observation, a great number of guns, is inconceivable; and some suppose that guns had been, from time to time, sent across, and buried within the territory on the English side, which they still retained.

In writing to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors,[1] Sir Henry Hardinge wrote that he, in common with the most experienced officers of the Indian government, was "not of opinion that the Sikh army would cross the Sutle with its infantry and artillery." That "the Sikh army had, in 1843 and 1844, moved down upon the river from Lahore, and, after remaining encamped a few weeks, had returned to the capital." That, "on the 9th,[2] at night, Captain

[1] "Annual Register," 1845, pp. 332, 333.

[2] December, 1845.

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Nicolson, the assistant political agent at Ferozpoor, reported that a portion of the Sikh army had approached within three miles of the river. On the other hand, the information received by Major Broadfoot on that day from Lahore was not of a character to make it probable that any Sikh movement on a large scale was meditated. On the 10th, no intelligence was received from Lahore confirmatory of Captain Nicolson's report, and the usual opinion continued to prevail, that the Sikh army would not cross the Sutlej." Lastly, "on the 13th,[1] I first received precise information that the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej, and was concentrating in great force on the left bank of the river."

Sikhs threaten Ferozpoor. "The Sikh leaders[2] threatened Ferozpoor, but no attack was made upon its seven thousand defenders, which, with a proper spirit, were led out by their commander, Sir John Littler, and showed a bold front to the overwhelming force of the enemy. The object, indeed, of Lall Sing and Tej Sing, was not to compromise themselves with the English, by destroying an isolated division, but to get their own

[1] December, 1845.
[2] Cunningham, 304.

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troops dispersed by the converging forces of their opponents." They "thus deprecated an attack on Ferozpoor, and assured the local British authorities of their secret and efficient good-will."[1]

Battle of Moodkee, 18th December, 1845. On the 18th of December, 1845, the troops had reached the village of Moodkee. "Soon after mid-day,[2] the division under Major-general Sir H. Smith, a brigade of that, under Major-general Sir J. M'Caskill, and another of that, under Major-general Gilbert, with five troops of horse artillery, and two light field batteries, under Lieutenant-colonel Brooke, of the horse artillery (brigadier in command of the artillery force), and the cavalry division, consisting of her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons, the body-guard, 4th and 5th

[1] "It was sufficiently certain and notorious" (says Captain C.), "at the time that Lall Sing was in communication with Captain Nicolson, the British agent at Ferozpoor, but, owing to the untimely death of that officer, the details of the overtures made and expectations held out, cannot now be satisfactorily known. Compare Dr. Macgregor's 'History of the Sikhs,' ii., 80." But we know, on good authority, that the late Captain P. Nicolson "was fully informed of every march made by Lall Sing."

[2] "Annual Register," 1845. Despatch of Sir H. Gough, p. 335. After a march of twenty-one miles. Moodkee is twenty miles from Ferozpoor.

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light cavalry, and 9th irregular cavalry, took up their encamping ground in front of Moodkee."

"The troops were in a state of great exhaustion, principally from the want of water, which was not procurable on the road, when about three P. M.,[1] information was received that the Sikh army was advancing; and the troops had scarcely time to get under arms and move to their positions, when the fact was ascertained."

"I immediately pushed forward the horse artillery and cavalry, directing the infantry, accompanied by the field batteries, to move forward in support. We had not proceeded beyond two miles, when we found the enemy in position. They were said to consist of from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand infantry, about the same force of cavalry, and forty guns. They evidently had either just taken up this position, or were advancing in order of battle against us."

[1] The officer to be brigadier for the next day (19th) was warned for duty, and was told by the staff from head-quarters, that the enemy were ten miles off, and were to be attacked next morning. About an hour afterwards the troops were ordered to fall in. Major Broadfoot rode a-head to see if it were true, and returned and told the fact of his having seen them. The question has been asked—"Why not have formed the army in front of your own camp?"

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"To resist their attack, and to cover the formation of the infantry, I advanced the cavalry, under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, rapidly to the front in columns of squadrons, and occupied the plain. They were speedily followed by the five troops of horse artillery, under Brigadier Brooke who took up a forward position, having the cavalry then on his left flanks."

"The country is a dead flat, covered at short intervals with a low, but, in some places, thick jhow jungle, and dotted with sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their infantry and artillery behind this jungle, and such undulations as the ground afforded; and, whilst our twelve battalions formed from *echelon* of brigade into a line, opened a very severe cannonade upon our advancing troops, which was vigorously replied to by the battery of horse artillery under Brigadier Brooke, which was soon joined by the two light field batteries. The rapid and well-directed fire of our artillery appeared soon to paralyse that of the enemy; and, as it was necessary to complete our infantry dispositions, without advancing the artillery too near to the jungle, I directed the cavalry, under Brigadiers White and Gough, to make a flank movement on the enemy's left, with a view of threat-

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ening and turning that flank, if possible. With praiseworthy gallantry, the 3rd light dragoons, with the 2nd brigade of cavalry, consisting of the body-guard and 5th light cavalry, with a portion of the 4th lancers, turned the left of the Sikh army, and, sweeping along the whole rear of its infantry and guns, silenced for a time the latter, and put their numerous cavalry to flight. Whilst this movement was taking place on the enemy's left, I directed the remainder of the 4th lancers, the 9th irregular cavalry, under Brigadier Mactier, with a light field battery, to threaten their right. This manœuvre was also successful. Had not the infantry and guns of the enemy been screened by the jungle, those brilliant charges of the cavalry would have been productive of greater effect."

"When the infantry advanced to the attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed on his horse artillery close to the jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry, under Major-generals Sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir J. M'Caskill, attacked in *echelon* of lines the enemy's infantry, almost invisible amongst wood and the approaching darkness of night. The opposition of the enemy was such as might have

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been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of being irresistible. The ample and extended line, from their great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours; but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected; and their whole force was driven from position after position with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre; our infantry using that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, whenever the enemy stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object."[1]

The army returned to camp at midnight, and halted on the 19th and 20th of December, "to

[1] Major-general Sir R. Sale died of his wound. Sir J. M'Caskill was shot through the chest and killed. The number of killed were two hundred and fifteen, wounded six hundred and fifty-seven, total eight hundred and seventy-two. The enemy killed and wounded many officers by firing from trees.

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refresh the men, to collect the wounded, and bring in the captured guns."[1] On the 21st the commander-in-chief having left the baggage, the wounded, and the captured guns at Moodkee, protected by two regiments of native infantry, " marched at four o'clock in the morning by his left, keeping about three or four miles from the enemy's intrenched position at Ferozshah, in which the enemy had placed one hundred and eight pieces of cannon, protected by breast works."[2]

Sir John Littler, at Ferozpoor, had been directed to join " with such part of his force as would not compromise the safety of his troops and the post."[3]

[1] Sir H. Hardinge's narrative of events. " Annual Register," p 340.

[2] It was found, after the capture of the entrenchment, that there were no guns in the rear face, but the fact did not appear to have been known at the time. There is required a regular intelligence department in the Bengal army! The sums paid for intelligence must be on a liberal scale Those who get the most correct information pay high for it.

[3] He left the 63rd native infantry to take care of the cantonments, and the 27th native infantry, with some sappers, half a field battery, and a company of artillery in the town.

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"At half-past one o'clock the Umballah force, having marched across the country disencumbered of every description of baggage, except the reserve ammunition, formed its junction with Sir John Littler's force, who had moved out of Ferozpoor with five thousand men, two regiments of cavalry, and twenty-one field guns."

"This combined operation having been effected, the commander-in-chief, with my entire concurrence, made his arrangements for the attack of the enemy's position at Ferozshah, about four miles distant from the point where our forces had united."

"The British force consisted of sixteen thousand seven hundred men, and sixty-nine guns, chiefly horse artillery."[1]

"The Sikh forces varied from forty-eight thousand to sixty thousand men, with one hundred and eight pieces of cannon of heavy calibre, in fixed batteries."[2]

Battle of Ferozshah.—The united forces advanced about four o'clock on the afternoon of the

[1] The force at Moodkee was said to be thirteen thousand men.

[2] Every available soldier had been brought from Loodiana and Ferozpoor.

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21st, to attack the intrenched camp of the Sikhs. Sir Henry Hardinge had offered his services to Sir Hugh Gough as second in command, and took an active part in the eventful scenes of this and the following day.[1]

"The camp of the enemy was in the form of a parallelogram, of about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, including within its area the strong village of Ferozshah; the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlej and Moodkee, and the longer towards Ferozpoor and the open country. The British troops moved against the last named place, and the ground in front of which was, like the Sikh position in Moodkee, covered with low jungle."

Attack on the 21st of December, 1845.[2]—"The divisions of Major-general Sir J. Littler, Brigadier Wallace (who had succeeded Major-general Sir J. M'Caskill), and Major-general Gilbert, deployed into line, having in the centre our whole force of artillery, with the exception of three troops of horse artillery, one on either flank and one in support, to be moved as occa-

[1] "Annual Register," p. 338.

[2] Extract, Despatches Lords Hardinge and Gough, and Sir H. Smith, second Edition (1846), p. 51.

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sion required. Major-general Sir H. Smith's division, and our small cavalry force, moved in a second line, having a brigade in reserve to cover each wing." Lieutenant-general Sir H. Hardinge directed the left wing, and Sir H. Gough the right wing of the army.

" A very heavy cannonade was opened by the enemy, who had dispersed over their position upwards of one hundred guns; more than forty of which were of battering calibre; these kept up a heavy and well-directed fire, which the practice of our far less numerous artillery, of much lighter metal, checked in some degree, but could not silence; finally, in the face of a storm of shot and shell, our infantry advanced and carried these formidable entrenchments; they threw themselves upon the guns, and with matchless gallantry wrested them from the enemy; but, when the batteries were partially within our grasp, our soldiery had to face such a fire of musketry from the Sikh infantry, arrayed behind their guns, that, in spite of their most heroic efforts, a portion only of the entrenchment could be carried. Night fell while the conflict was everywhere raging."

Although I now brought up Major-general Sir H. Smith's division, and he captured and long

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retained another point of the position, and her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons charged and took some of the most formidable batteries, yet the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of the great quadrangle, whilst our troops, intermingled with theirs, kept possession of the remainder, and, finally, bivouacked upon it, exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit. In this state of things the long night wore away." "During the whole night, however, they continued to harass our troops by the fire of artillery, wherever moonlight discovered our position."

The 22nd of December.—" But, with daylight of the 22nd came retribution. Our infantry formed line, supported on both flanks by horse artillery, whilst a fire was opened from our centre by such of our heavy guns as remained effective, aided by a flight of rockets. A masked battery played with great effect upon this point, dismounting our pieces, and blowing up our tumbrils. At this moment Lieutenant-general Sir H. Hardinge placed himself at the head of the left, whilst I rode at the head of the right wing. Our line advanced, and, unchecked by the

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enemy's fire, drove them rapidly out of the village of Ferozshah and their encampment; then, changing front to its left, on its centre, our force continued to sweep the camp, bearing down all opposition, and dislodged the enemy from their whole position. The line then halted, as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving its two leaders as they rode along its front with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army. We had taken upwards of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and were masters of the whole field."

"In the course of two hours, Sirdar Tej Sing, who had commanded in the last great battle, brought up from the vicinity of Ferozpoor fresh battalions and a large field of artillery, supported by thirty thousand Ghorechurras,[1] hitherto encamped near the river. He drove in our cavalry parties, and made strenuous efforts to regain the position at Ferozshah. This attempt was defeated; but its failure had scarcely become manifest, when the Sirdar renewed the contest with more troops and a large artillery. He commenced by a combination against our left flank;

[1] The Sikh cavalry did not enter into the rebellious and hostile view of the Sikh infantry.

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and, when this was frustrated, made such a demonstration against the captured village, as compelled us to change our whole front to the right. His guns, during this manœuvre, maintained an incessant fire, whilst, our artillery ammunition being completely expended in these protracted combats, we were unable to answer him with a single shot."

"I now directed our almost exhausted cavalry to threaten both flanks at once, preparing the infantry to advance in support, which, apparently, caused him suddenly to cease his fire, and to abandon the field."[1] The enemy's camp "is the scene of the most awful carnage, and they have abandoned large stores of grain, camp equipage, and ammunition."

List of Killed and Wounded.

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Officers, European . .	37	78
„ Native . . .	17	18
Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file .	630	1610
Syces, drivers, &c. . .	10	12
Warrant officers . . .	0	3
	694	1721

Grand total of all ranks, killed and wounded, 2415: of these, 115 European and 35 native officers (150).

[1] By some order (assumed to be official) given to the brigadier of cavalry, that force went off to Ferozpoor. The

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It has been stated that the Sikhs fired their guns much quicker than the English, or at the rate of three times to our twice, to which circumstance our great loss is imputed. On taking possession of the entrenchment, it was found that the enemy had no guns in the rear face. Their guns were said to have been strongly fixed in, so that they could not be removed during the action. The nature of the position was not known before the attack was made.[1] At Sobraon the guns were moveable, and were, it is said, moved by the Sikhs during the attack.

On the 5th of January, 1846, the enemy made a predatory incursion in the direction of Loodiana.[2] On the 12th of January Sir H. Gough determined to bring his whole force into a position from which he could more closely observe the movements of the enemy, posted near the greater

enemy, it is said, thinking it was a manœuvre to attack them in the rear, went from the field. Golab Sing remarked that Tej Sing should not have attacked, but have gone off to Delhi.

[1] It is said that our troops marched past the rear of the entrenchment, and that they then marched round to its front and took up the position from which the attack was made. Some part of the entrenchment was not above eighteen inches high.

[2] Despatches, p. 81.

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Sobraon, on the right bank of the Sutlej. The army executed an oblique movement to its right and front. Major-general Sir H. Smith, supported by a cavalry brigade, under Brigadier Cureton, was in this new alignment, still on the right, opposite to Hurreekee Puttun; Major-general Gilbert in the centre; and Major-general Sir R. Dick on the left, covered again by cavalry. Major-general Sir J. Grey, posted at Attaree, watched the Nuggur ford. The troops of Major-general Sir J. Littler occupied the cantonment and entrenchment of Ferozpoor. There seemed no doubt that Sirdar Runjoor Sing Mujethea had crossed from Philour, and, not only threatened the safety of the rich and populous town of Loodiana, but would have turned the right flank, and have intersected the line of our communications at Busseean and Raekote, and have endangered the junction of our convoys from Delhi. Brigadier Godby commanded three battalions of native infantry at Loodiana.

Major-general Sir H. Smith, with his brigade at Dhurmkote, and Brigadier Cureton's cavalry, were directed to advance by Jugraon towards Loodiana; and his second brigade under Brigadier Wheeler, moved on to support him. The

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general was reinforced by Brigadier Godby, "but his manœuvres had thrown him out of communication with Brigadier Wheeler, and a portion of his baggage[1] had fallen into the hands of the enemy." The Sikh sirdar[2] took an entrenched position at Budhowal—fifteen miles below Loodiana.

The battle of Aliwal on the 28th of January, 1846.—The cavalry under the command of Brigadier Cureton,[3] and horse artillery under Major Lawrenson, formed two brigades under Brigadier MacDowell, 16th lancers, C. B., and the other under Brigadier Stedman, 7th light cavalry. The first division as it stood consisted of two brigades: her Majesty's 53rd and 30th native infantry, under Brigadier Wilson, of the latter corps; the 36th native infantry and Nusseree batallion, under Brigadier Godby (36th native infantry); and the Shekawatte brigade under Major Foster. The Sirmoor battalion was attached to Brigadier Wheeler's brigade of the first division, the 42nd native infantry had been left at head quarters. "The regiments of cavalry which headed the

[1] A great deal of the baggage was lost! It by some mistake got between our troops and the enemy.

[2] Despatches, p. 83.

[3] Despatches, p. 86.

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advance, opened their glittering ranks to the right and left, and made apparent the serried battalions of infantry and the frowning batteries of cannon.

The scene was magnificent and yet overawing.[1] "The lines of battle were not truly parallel. The Sikh line inclined towards and extended beyond the British right, while the other flanks were, for a time, comparatively distant." "It was perceived by Sir H. Smith that the capture of the village of Aliwal was of the first importance, and the right of the infantry was led against it. A deadly struggle seemed impending; for the Sikh ranks were steady and the play of their guns incessant; but the holders of the post were battalions of hill men, raised because their demeanour was sober and their hearts indifferent to the Khâlsa, and after firing a struggling volley, they fled in confusion headed by Runjor Sing, their immediate leader, and leaving the brave Sikh artillerymen to be slaughtered by the conquerors. The British cavalry of the right made at the same time a sweeping and successful charge, and one half of the opposing army was fairly broken and

[1] Cunningham, p. 317. Sir H. Smith's force is stated to be 11,000 men: the Sikhs 15,000 men, pp. 317, 316.

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dispersed; but the Sikhs on their own right seemed to be outflanking their opponents in spite of the exertions of the English infantry and artillery; for there the more regular battalions were in line, and the true Sikh was not easily cowed. A prompt and powerful effort was necessary, and a regiment of European lancers, supported by one of Indian cavalry, was launched against the even ranks of the Lahore infantry. The Sikhs knelt to receive the orderly, but impetuous charge of the English warriors;" but at the critical moment, the unaccustomed discipline of many of Govind's champions failed them. They rose, yet they reserved their fire, and delivered it together at the distance of a spear's throw; nor was it until the mass had been three times[1] ridden through, that the Sikhs dispersed. The charge was wisely planned and bravely made; but the ground was more thickly strewn with the bodies of victorious horsemen than of beaten infantry. An attempt was made to rally behind Boondree; but all resistance was unavailing, the Sikhs were driven across the Sutlej; more than fifty pieces of

[1] Major Bere, 16th lancers, succeeded, but many others failed. The late Colonel Cureton said that lancers should never be employed in less numbers than a squadron.

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cannon were taken."[1] Our loss was, grand total killed, wounded and missing, five hundred and eighty-nine men; three hundred and fifty-three horses, (officers—four European and two native killed — twenty-five European and six natives wounded.[2]

"Raja Golab Sing[3] of Jummoo, first reproached the vanquished Sikhs for rashly engaging in hostilities with their colossal neighbour, and then entering into negotiations with the English leaders." The English intimated their readiness to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty in Lahore after the army should have been disbanded; but the raja declared his inability to deal with the troops, which still overawed him and other well-wishers to the family of Runjeet Sing.

Operations against Sobraon, (10th of February, 1846.)[4] "The Sikhs had gradually brought the

[1] The troops at first suffered much from the Sikh guns, and Major Lawrenson, not having time to send for orders, at once galloped, with his horse artillery, up to within a certain distance of the enemy's guns, unlimbered, and his fire drove the enemy's gunners from their guns. This promptitude of the major saved the loss of many lives.

[2] This loss includes those killed and wounded at Buddiwal, said to have been about one hundred men.

[3] Cunningham, p. 319.

[4] Cunningham, p. 321.

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greater part of their force into the intrenchment on the left bank of the Sutlej, which had been enlarged as impulse prompted or as opportunity seemed to offer.[1] They placed sixty-seven pieces of artillery in battery, and their strength was estimated at thirty-five thousand fighting men; but it is probable that twenty thousand would exceed the truth.[2] Captain Cunningham says,[3] "Hurbon the brave Spaniard, and Mouton the Frenchman, who were at Sobraon, doubtless exerted themselves where they could, but their authority or their influence did not extend beyond a regiment or a brigade, and the lines showed no trace whatever of scientific skill or of unity of design." "Tej Sing commanded in this entrenchment, and Lall Sing lay with his horse in loose order higher up the stream, watched by a body of British cavalry." Early in February, a formidable siege train and ample stores of am-

[1] From the 22nd of December, 1845, to the 10th of February, 1846, or for fifty days, we did not disturb their operations. We were waiting for guns, ammunition, stores, &c.

[2] The commander-in-chief wrote, "not fewer than thirty-five thousand men, the best of the Khalsa troops." Despatches, p. 116.

[3] Cunningham, p. 322, *note* *

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munition arrived from Delhi.[1] It was determined that the Sikh position should be attacked on the 10th of February. "It was arranged that the whole of the heavy ordnance should be planted in masses opposite the particular points of the enemy's entrenchment, and that when the Sikhs had been shaken by a continuous storm of shot and shell, the right or weakest part of the position should be assaulted in line by the strongest of the three investing divisions, which together mustered nearly fifteen thousand men. A large body of British cavalry was likewise placed to watch the movements of Lall Sing, and the two divisions which lay near Ferozpoor were held ready to push across the Sutlej as soon as victory should declare itself.[2]

On the 10th of February,[3] "The British divisions advanced in silence, amid the darkness of night and the additional gloom of a thick haze. The coveted post was found unoccupied;[4] the

[1] A force was sent to escort it to camp, to prevent its capture by the Sikhs.

[2] Sir H. Smith joined on the evening of the 8th, and part of the siege train had arrived.

[3] Cunningham, p. 324.

[4] Roodee Walla, the post of observation, which had fallen into the hands of the Sikhs some time before.

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Sikhs seemed everywhere taken by surprise, and they beat clamorously to arms when they saw themselves about to be assailed. The English batteries opened at sunrise, and for upwards of three hours an incessant play of artillery was kept up upon the general mass of the enemy. The round shot exploded tumbrils, or dashed heaps of sand into the air; the hollow shells cast their fatal contents fully before them, and the devious rockets sprang aloft with fury to fall hissing amid a flood of men; but all was in vain, the Sikhs stood unappalled, and "flash for flash returned, and fire for fire." The fire of the guns ceased for a time. "The left division of the British army advanced in even order and with a light step to the attack, but the original error of forming the regiments in *line* instead of in *column*,[1] rendered the contest more unequal than such assaults need necessarily be. Every shot from the enemy's lines told upon the expanse of men, and the greater part of the division was driven back by the deadly fire of muskets and swivels, and enfilading artillery. On the extreme left, the

[1] His argument was that, by the attack in *line*, you expose *all* the troops to the fire from the *whole front of the entrenchment.*

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regiments effected an entrance[1] amid the advanced banks and trenches of petty outworks, where possession could be of little avail; but their comrades on the right were animated by the partial success; they chafed under the disgrace of repulse, and forming themselves instinctively into wedges and masses, and headed by an old and fearless leader,[2] they rushed forward in wrath. With a shout they leaped the ditch, and up swarming, they mounted the rampart, and stood victorious amid captured cannon. But the effort was great; the Sikhs fought with steadiness and resolution; guns in the interior were turned[3] upon the exhausted assailants, and the line of the trench alone was gained. Nor was this achievement the work of a moment. The repulse of the first assailants required that the central division should be brought forward, and these supporting regiments also moved in *line* against ramparts higher and more continuous than the barriers which had foiled the first efforts of their comrades. They, too, recoiled in confusion before

[1] Brigadier Stacy.

[2] Sir R. Dick mortally wounded close to the trenches.

[3] They could not do so at Ferozshah; the guns were there, fixed.

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the fire of the exulting Sikhs. But at the distance of a furlong they showed both their innate valour and habitual discipline by rallying and returning to the charge. Their second assault was aided on the left by the presence in the trenches of that flank, of the victorious first division;[1] and thus the regiments of the centre likewise became, after a fierce struggle, on their own right possessed of as many of the enemy's batteries as lay to their immediate front. The unlooked-for repulse of the second division,[2] and the arduous contest in which the first was engaged, might have led a casual witness of the strife to ponder on the multitude of varying circumstances which determine success in war; but the leaders were collected and prompt, and the battalions on the right, the victors of Aliwal, were impelled against the opposite flank of the Sikhs; but there, as on all other points attacked, destruction awaited brave men. They fell in heaps, and the first line was thrown back upon the second, which, nothing daunted, moved rapidly to the assault. "The two lines mingled their ranks and rushed

[1] Brigadier Stacy's brigade.

[2] Caused by a large mound which could not be passed in *line*, but by the troops *wedging in*.

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forward in masses just as the second division had retrieved its fame, and as a body of cavalry[1] had been poured into the camp from the left, to form that line of advance, which surpassed the strength of the exhausted infantry."

"Openings were thus everywhere effected in the Sikh intrenchments, but single batteries still held out; the interior was filled with courageous men, who took advantage of every obstacle, and fought fiercely for every spot of ground." Gradually "each defensible position was captured, and the enemy was pressed towards the scarcely fordable river;[2] yet, although assailed on either side by squadrons of horse and battalions of foot, no Sikh offered to submit, and no disciple of Govind asked for quarter. They everywhere showed a front to the victors, and stalked slowly and sullenly away, while many rushed singly forth to meet assured death by contending with a multitude. The victors looked with stolid wonderment upon the indomitable courage of the

[1] 3rd dragoons. This was much in the style of the Duke of Marlborough.

[2] It was Sham Sing, and not Tej Sing, who caused the bridge of boats to be broken, to prevent any flying across the river: thus hoping to induce the troops to remain in the intrenchment to the last.

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vanquished, and forbore to strike when the helpless and the dying frowned unavailing hatred."

Sir H. Gough states in his despatch.[1] "The fire of the Sikhs first slackened, and then nearly ceased; and the victors then pressing them on every side, precipitated them in masses over their bridge, and into the Sutlej, which a sudden rise of seven inches had rendered hardly fordable. In their efforts to reach the right bank through the deepened water, they suffered from our horse artillery a terrible carnage. Hundreds fell under this cannonade; hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage. Their awful slaughter, confusion, and dismay were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the earlier part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier whom in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy.[2] I must pause in this narrative especially to notice the determined

[1] Despatches, 2nd Edition (1846), p. 119—13th of February, 1846, par. 6.

[2] This is a complete answer to those who found fault with Lord Gough. See Beatson's and other accounts as to Seringapatam in 1799.

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hardihood and bravery with which our two battalions of Gorkhas, the Sirmoor, and Nusseree, met the Sikhs, wherever they were opposed to them. Soldiers of small stature, but indomitable spirit, they vied in ardent courage in the charge with the grenadiers of our own nation, and armed with the short weapon[1] of their mountains, were a terror to the Sikhs throughout this great combat."

List of Killed and Wounded.

Total killed	320
„ wounded	2,063
	2,383

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
European officers . . .	13	101
Native „ . . .	3	39

Total, European and native officers killed and wounded, one hundred and fifty-six.

The Sikhs acknowledged that they had thirty-seven thousand men engaged in this battle, exclusive of the large force, particularly cavalry, at this side the river, and that their loss on this

[1] The kookree. When Captain J. Fisher (23rd native infantry), commanding the Sirmoor battalion, fell, his men revenged his death by attacking the Sikhs with their kookrees. The Gorkhas behaved well at Bhurtpoor in 1825-26.

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occasion was from thirteen thousand[1] to fourteen thousand men.[2]

Major-general Sir R. H. Dick, K.C.B. and K.C.H., died of his wounds. Major-general Gilbert was slightly wounded, and twelve field and commanding officers were killed or wounded.

Brigadier E. J. Smith, engineers, formed the plan of attack. The dispatch[3] states that Brigadier A. Irvine arrived on the evening of the 9th, and declined to assume the command,[4] not wishing to take to himself the credit due to another.

[1] With regard to French, &c., officers, Runjeet did not wish them to *command*, or do more than *instruct* his Sikh officers. He knew that in 1803 the European officers left Sindia's service, when our proclamation was issued. *English* officers were *obliged* to resign his service, and obtained pensions from the Indian government. Most of the foreign officers also left his troops. Hence, in a war with the English, Runjeet knew he could not reckon on the services of his European officers. General Cortland left the Sikh army in 1845, before the first battle. The foreign officers (Allard, Ventura, Avitabili, M. Court, &c., were, it is believed, in Europe). Another thing, Runjeet knew that M. Perron, the principal European officer in Sindia's service, was gaining too much influence. He made a large fortune.

[2] Despatches, p. 129, *note*.

[3] Despatches, par. 27, p. 125.

[4] All the train from Delhi had not arrived (Governor general to the secret committee, 19th of February, 1846,

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On the night of the victory, Major-general Sir J. Littler (as had been before arranged), crossed the Sutlej with his division. "No enemy was visible, and on the 12th of February,[1] the fort of Kussoor was occupied without opposition. On the following day, the army encamped under the walls of that ancient town, and it was ascertained that the Sikhs still held together to the number of twenty thousand men in the direction of Amritsir. But the power of the armed representatives of the Khalsa was gone; the holders of treasure and food, and all the munitions of war, had first passively helped to defeat them, and then openly joined the enemy; and the soldiery readily assented to the requisition of the court that Golab Sing, their chosen minister, should have full powers to treat with the English on the already admitted basis of recognising a Sikh government in Lahore. On the 15th, the raja and several other chiefs were received by the Governor-general at Kussoor, and they were told that Dhuleep Sing would continue to be re-

par. 3, p. 99, Despatch). It is said that Brigadier Irvine thought it would have been better to wait for the whole of the mortars and guns, shot and shells; the shot and shells were all expended before the assault.

[1] Cunningham, p. 329.

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garded as a friendly sovereign, but that the country between the Beeas and Sutlej would be retained by the conquerors, and that £1,500,000 must be paid as some indemnity for the expenses of the war. After a long discussion, the terms were reluctantly agreed to; the young maharaja came and tendered his submission in person, and on the 20th of February the British army arrived at the Sikh capital. Two days afterwards, a portion of the citadel was garrisoned by English regiments."

It was too late in the season for further operations (if the conquest of the Punjab had been the object at the time). There must have been distant operations, extending to Peshawur and Mooltan, besides against the capital. At a review in March 1846, the Sikhs had an army of twenty thousand men collected near the city.[1] "The raja of Jummoo coveted more than his own native mountains." "As two-thirds of the pecuniary indemnity required from Lahore could not be made good, territory was taken instead of money, and Cashmeer and the hill states from

[1] Lord Hardinge remarked to a field officer the reduced state of our European force. Sir C. Napier's force was at hand; but the season was too far advanced.

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the Beeas to the Indus were cut off from the Punjab Proper, and transferred to Golab Sing, as a separate sovereign, for £1,000,000."[1] On the 15th March, 1846, Golab Sing was invested with the title of maharaja. "It was agreed[2] that a British force should remain at the capital until the last day of December 1846, to enable the chiefs to feel secure while they reorganised the army, and introduced order and efficiency into the administration. The end of the year came, but the chiefs were still helpless; they clung to their foreign support, and gladly assented to an arrangement which leaves the English in immediate possession of the reduced dominions of Runjeet Sing, until his reputed son and feeble successor shall attain the age of manhood."[3] Major-general Sir J. H. Littler, G.C.B., was selected to command the troops at Lahore.

On the 5th April, 1847, Viscount Hardinge[4] wrote to the secret committee of the East India

[1] By Article 3. Treaty, 16th of March, 1846, with Golab Sing, seventy-five lakhs of rupees (£750,000), for Cashmere, was the amount.

[2] Cunningham, p. 333.

[3] Cunningham, p. 417. 2nd Treaty, 1846. Understood to be till he should be eighteen years of age (or till 1854).

[4] Punjab "Blue Book," 1847-49, p. 1.

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Company, that the Sikh authorities composing the durbar, appeared to be carrying on the government of the country under the British resident (Lieut.-colonel H. M. Lawrence), with a sincere desire to insure a successful result. In his letter of the 27th May, 1847, the Governor-general wrote to the committee that "The resident observes that, as usual, all sorts of reports are raised of evil intentions on the part of the Sikhs, and even of the chiefs, against us, which he declares to be greatly exaggerated, and many obviously false. Measures were taken to secure to Golab Sing the possession of Cashmeer.

On the 21st of November, 1847, Moolraj, the dewan of Mooltan tendered his resignation.[1] Mr. V. Agnew of the civil service, and Lieut. Anderson, Bombay army, had been sent to Mooltan with Sirdar Khan Sing who was to become the new dewan. A small corps of five hundred and thirty men of irregulars was sent with them. They were attacked by Moolraj's people, were both wounded and died.[2] It was prosposed to send a force to punish these acts of murder and rebellion. In

[1] "Blue Book," p. 90. Mooltan, is about two hundred and twenty miles from Lahore and Ferozpoor.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 131.

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July, 1848, Major-general Sir J. H. Littler[1] wrote "I entirely concur with his Excellency the Commander-in-chief as to the inexpediency of immediate operations against the fort of Mooltan, with a British force. That fort is now surrounded, and closely invested, by the troops of the nawab of Bahawulpore and Lieutenant Edwardes, and they are, no doubt, strong enough to maintain their ground against any attack, than can be made by Dewan Moolraj's party." On the 13th of July, 1840, Lieutenant Edwardes wrote to the resident at Lahore,[2] as to Raja Sher Sing (son of Chuttur Sing) that his force was against us to a man. At last, on the 22nd of July, 1848, a proclamation was issued against Moolraj[3] regarding his rebellion, treacherous murder of the British officers, and his schemes and plots for the subversion of the Khalsa government.

Major-general Whish marched and encamped in the vicinity of the fortress of Mooltan, on the 18th of August, 1848,[4] with about seven thousand

[1] "Blue Book," p. 252.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 254. Shere Sing's troops at Mooltan.

[3] "Blue Book," p. 260.

[4] "Blue Book," p. 291—299.

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men. He issued a proclamation to the inhabitants.[1] On the 6th of September, 1848, a council of war was held as to the mode of attack.[2] The place was bombarded on the 12th of September, and other operations undertaken. Sher Sing marched from Mooltan with his troops on the 14th. General Whish held a council of war, at which it was determined to withdraw from the siege, and taking up a position, wait for reinforcements.[3]

On the 1st of September, 1848, the resident at Lahore,[4] wrote to the government of India, alluding to the rebellion of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, that he had ordered the Jallunder[5] moveable column to be held in readiness. It was not to move unless Chuttur Sing marched towards the capital. On the 18th of November, 1848, the resident issued a proclamation stating, that "the British army under the right honourable Commander-in-chief, has entered the Punjab districts. The army will not return to its canton-

[1] "Blue Book," p 327.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 330.

[3] "Blue Book," p. 358.

[4] Sir F. Currie, Bart., in room of Sir H. Lawrence in England.

[5] The country ceded to us.

ments, until the full punishment of all insurgents has been effected, all armed opposition to constituted authority put down, and obedience and order have been re-established."

It appeared also that Moolraj distrusted Sher Sing.[1] The operations against Mooltan had been discontinued for three and a half months. The Bombay column, under Brigadier the Hon. D. Dundas, having arrived, the force attacked the enemy's entrenchments on the 27th of December, 1848,[2] Mooltan was taken on the 2nd of January, 1849, with a loss of one thousand one hundred and ninety-eight killed and wounded, in all the operations before the place. On the 27th December, 1848, by a shell from one of the mortars, the enemy's principal magazine in the citadel was blown up, and the grand musjid, and many houses destroyed.[3] This termination of the siege enabled General Whish to march with a considerable portion of his force to join the Commander-in-chief. It was by some thought at the time, that General Whish might have carried on the

[1] "Blue Book," p. 387.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 515.

[3] Somewhat similar to the case at the siege of Hattrass on the 1st of March, 1817.

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siege without waiting for reinforcement: but the present opinion is that he acted with great prudence in not risking a failure.

The affair at Ramnuggur.—The Commander-in-chief,[1] deeming it necessary to drive the rebel force, at this side the river, across, and capture any guns they might have had on the left bank, "directed Brigadier General Campbell, with an infantry brigade, accompanied by the cavalry division, and three troops of horse artillery, under Brigadier-general Cureton, to proceed during the night of the 21st of November, 1848, from Saharun, four miles in front of the Commander-in-chief's camp at Nonwulla, to effect that object." They proceeded next morning, and got into difficult ground near the river, and found themselves exposed to the fire of twenty-eight of the enemy's guns. This was an unfortunate cavalry affair. It teaches the lesson of the necessity of examining ground near the bank of a river where the enemy are known, or supposed to be. It cost the lives of Brigadier-general Cureton and Lieut.-colonel Havelock, eighty-seven men killed, and one hundred and forty wounded.

Action of Sadoolapoor, 3rd of December, 1848.

[1] "Blue Book," p. 445.

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—Major-general Thackwell had three troops of horse artillery, two light field-batteries,[1] her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons, two regiments of light cavalry, one irregular cavalry, her Majesty's 24th and 61st regiments of infantry, five regiments of native infantry, and two companies of pioneers. The two 18-pounders and the Pontoon train were sent back. The major-general crossed the Chenab, and attacked the enemy under Sher Sing, at Sadoolapoor. He wrote, "After a cannonade of about two hours, the fire of the enemy slackened, and I sent Lieut. Patton to desire the cavalry on the right to charge, and take the enemy's guns if possible, intending to support them by moving the brigades in *echelon*, from the right at intervals, according to circumstances; but as no opportunity offered for the cavalry to charge, and so little of daylight remained, I deemed it safer to remain in my position, than attempt to drive back an enemy so strongly posted on their right and centre, with the prospect of having to attack their entrenched position afterwards. From this position, the Sikhs began to retire at about twelve o'clock at night, as was afterwards ascertained, and as was conjectured

[1] "Blue Book," p. 451, 452. Thirty guns sent, two were sent away, leaving only twenty-eight guns.

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by the barking of dogs in their rear. I have every reason to believe that Sher Sing attacked with twenty guns; and nearly the whole of the Sikh army were employed against my position, which was by no means what I could have wished it; but the fire of our artillery was so effective that he did not dare to bring his masses to the front; and my brave, steady, and ardent infantry, whom I had caused to lie down to avoid the heavy fire, had no chance of firing a shot, except a few few companies on the left of the line. The enemy's loss has been severe; ours, comparatively, very small.[1] I regret not being able to capture the enemy's guns, but with the small force of cavalry, two regiments on the right only, it would have been a matter of difficulty to tired cavalry to overtake horse artillery, fresh, and well mounted." He praised the patient endurance of all the troops "under privations of no ordinary nature."

The battle of Chillianwalla,[2] 13th of January, 1849. On the 10th of January Lord Gough heard of the fall of Attock, and of the advance of Sirdar Chuttur Sing, in order to concentrate

[1] Seventy-three men and forty-eight horses killed and wounded.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 538.

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his force with the army under Sher Sing (amounting to from thirty thousand to forty thousand men, and sixty-two guns), then in his lordship's front. Lord Gough moved on the 12th to Dingee, about twelve miles. Sher Sing, it was understood, held, with his right, the villages of Lukhneewalla and Futteh Shah-Ke-Chuck, having the great body of his force at the village of Lollianwalla, with his left at Russool, on the Jhelum, strongly occupying the southern extremity of a low range of difficult hills, intersected by ravines, which extend nearly to that village. On the morning of the 13th the force advanced. A considerable detour was made to the right, principally "to get as clear as I could, of the jungle, on which it would appear that the enemy mainly relied." The army approached the village of Chillianwalla about noon, and found a strong picquet of the Sikhs on a mound close to it, which was dispersed. From this mound a very extended view of the country was obtained, and of the enemy drawn out in battle array. The ground in front was, though not a dense, still, a difficult jungle—the Sikh right in advance of Futteh-Shah-Ke-Chuck, and his left on the furrowed hills before described. "The day

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being far advanced, Lord Gough determined upon taking up a position in rear of the village, in order to reconnoitre his front, finding he could not turn the enemy's flanks (which rested upon a dense jungle, extending nearly to Heileh, which he had previously occupied for some time, and the neighbourhood of which he knew, and upon the raviney hills near Russool), without detaching a force to a distance: this he considered both inexpedient and dangerous."[1]

"The engineer department" (his lordship says), "had been ordered to examine the country before us; and the quarter-master-general was in the act of taking up ground for the encampment, when the enemy advanced some horse artillery and opened a fire on the skirmishes in front of the village.[2] I immediately ordered them to be silenced by a few rounds from our heavy guns, which advanced to an open space in front of the village. Their fire was instantly returned by that of nearly the whole of the enemy's field artillery, thus exposing the position of his guns, which the jungle had hitherto concealed."

[1] A battle may be won by turning *one* flank.

[2] The original intention was not to attack that day.

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" It was now evident that the enemy intended to fight, and would, probably, advance his guns so as to reach this encampment during the night. I, therefore, drew up in order of battle, Sir Walter Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by Brigadier Pope's brigade of cavalry, which I strengthened by the 14th light dragoons, well aware that the enemy was strong in cavalry upon his left. To this were attached three troops of horse artillery, under Lieut.-colonel Grant. The heavy guns were in the centre. Brigadier-general Campbell's division formed the left, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Brind. The field batteries were with the infantry division. Thus formed, the troops were ordered to lie down, whilst the heavy guns, under Major Horsford, ably seconded by Brevet-majors Ludlow and Sir R. Shakespear, opened a well-directed and powerful fire upon the enemy's centre, where his guns appeared principally to be placed; and this fire was ably supported on the flanks by the field batteries of the infantry divisions. After about an hour's fire, that of the enemy appeared to be, if not silenced, sufficiently disabled to justify an

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advance upon his position and guns. I then ordered my left division to advance, which had to move over a greater extent of ground, and, in front of which, the enemy seemed not to have many guns. Soon after I directed Sir Walter Gilbert to advance, and sent orders to Brigadier Pope to protect the flank and support the movement. Brigadier Penny's brigade was held in reserve, while the irregular cavalry, under Brigadier Hearsey, with the 20th native infantry, was ordered to protect the enormous amount of provisions and baggage that so harasses the movements of an Indian army.[1]

The attack on the enemy's guns, under Brigadier Pennycuick and Lieutenant-colonel Brookes, was a failure, because the order to charge was given (as is too often the case in India), when the troops were at too great a distance, as the Despatch states—" This unhappy mistake led to the Europeans outstripping the native corps, which could not keep pace, and arriving completely blown at a belt of thicker jungle, where

[1] We never in India form the baggage into a square or other form, so as to require few troops to protect it. The Lohance merchants form a square with the grain bags and saddles, and a few men, inside the square; and protect everything.

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they got into some confusion, and Lieut.-colonel Brookes, leading the 24th (foot), was killed between the enemy's guns. At this moment a large body of infantry, which supported their guns, opened upon them so destructive a fire that the brigade was forced to retire, having lost their gallant and lamented leader, Brigadier Pennycuick, and the three other field officers of the 24th, and nearly half the regiment, before it gave way; the native regiment, when it came up, also suffering severely. In justice to this brigade, I must be allowed to state, that they behaved heroically, and, but for their too hasty, and consequently disorderly advance, would have emulated the conduct of their left brigade, which, left unsupported for a time, had to charge to their front and right, wherever an enemy appeared. The brigade of horse artillery on their left, under Lieutenant-colonel Brind, judiciously and gallantly aiding, maintained an effective fire."

"Major-general Sir J. Thackwell, on the extreme left and rear, charged the enemy's cavalry wherever they showed themselves. The right attack of infantry, under that able officer, Major-general Sir Walter Gilbert, was successful. This division nobly maintained the character of the

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Indian army, taking and spiking the whole of the enemy's guns in their front, and dispersing the Sikhs wherever they were seen."

The affair of the right cavalry brigade was an unfortunate occurrence. It does not clearly appear that so many corps were required. They were crowded up together; and the formation of cavalry in front of horse artillery[1] was a case for which, perhaps, there is no parallel in military history. If another regiment were required, it should have been formed on the extreme right of the cavalry line.

The action lasted till near eight o'clock at night. We did not bring off all the guns which had been captured, as only twelve remained in our possession. The despatch concludes—"The victory was complete as to the total overthrow of the enemy; and his sense of utter discomfiture and defeat will, I trust, soon be made apparent, unless, indeed, the rumours, prevalent this day, of his having been joined by Chuttur Sing, prove correct. I am informed that the loss of the Sikhs has been very great, and chiefly among their old and tried soldiers. In no action do I remember seeing so many of an enemy's

[1] Four of the guns upset by the cavalry retreating.

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slain upon the same space; Sobraon, perhaps, only excepted."

Our loss was two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven men, and one hundred and seventy-six horses killed and wounded.

The battle of Goojerat, 21st of February, 1849.[1] The fall of Mooltan had permitted Major-general Whish, C.B., to march to join Lord Gough. He reached Ramnuggur[2] on the 13th, and joined army head-quarters on the 16th of February. On the 15th his Excellency had moved in the direction of Wuzeerabad, the enemy having left their entrenchments, and taken up a position between Goojerat and the Chenab. The governor-general says, "want of supplies led to this movement, on the part of the enemy, who were allowed to effect it without being molested by our troops." Their intention appears to have been to have crossed the Chenab, and, after ravaging the Rechna Doab, to proceed to Lahore; but the intention was frustrated by Major-general Whish's having detached a brigade, to guard the fords above and below Wu-

[1] "Blue Book," p. 597.

[2] "Blue Book," p. 584. Governor-general to Secret Committee.

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zeerabad. The rear brigade, or Bombay column, of the Mooltan reinforcements, under Brigadier-general the Hon. H. Dundas, C.B., reached his Excellency's head quarters on the evening of the 19th, thus completing the army at the disposal of his Excellency.

Full Despatch, 26th of February, 1849.[1] Victory over the Sikhs.—The Sikh army was calculated, from all reports, at sixty thousand men of all arms, and fifty-nine pieces of artillery, under the command of Sirdar Chuttur Sing and Raja Sher Sing, with a body of one thousand five hundred Affghan horse, led by Akram Khan, son of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan;[2] a result, my lord, glorious indeed, for the ever-victorious army of India; their position carried, their guns, ammunition, the ranks of the enemy broken, camp equipage and baggage captured, their flying masses driven before their victorious pursuers, from mid-day to dusk, receiving most severe punishment in their flight; and, my lord, with gratitude to a merciful Providence, I have the satisfaction of adding that, notwithstanding

[1] "Blue Book," p. 597. Having written a short account on the field of battle to the governor-general.

[2] In all his misfortunes the Dost had not learnt the political wisdom of never joining a falling party.

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the obstinate resistance of the enemy, this triumphant success, this brilliant victory, has been achieved with comparatively little loss on our side." The number of guns taken in the action and captured in the line of pursuit, "I now find to be fifty-three."[1]

"By a reconnoissance, it was found that the enemy's camp nearly encircled the town of Goojerat, their regular troops being placed immediately fronting us, between the town and a deep water-course, the dry bed of the river Dwara; this nullah, which is very tortuous, passing round nearly two sides of the town of Goojerat, diverging to a considerable distance on the north and west faces, and then taking a southerly direction, running through the centre of the ground I occupied at Shadewal. Thus, the enemy's position on the right was greatly strengthened, the nullah giving cover to his infantry, in front of his guns, whilst another deep, though narrow, wet nullah, running from the east of the town, and falling into the Chenab, in the direction of Wuzeerabad, covered his left. The ground between these nullahs, for a space of nearly three miles, being well calculated for the operations of

[1] Including those lost at Ramnuggur and Chillianwalla,—now recovered, p. 593.

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all arms, and presenting no obstacle to the movement of my heavy guns, I determined to make my principal attack in that direction, and disposed my force accordingly."

"On the extreme left, I placed the Bombay column, commanded by the Hon. H. Dundas, supported by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and the Sindh horse, under Sir J. Thackwell, to protect the left, and to prevent large bodies of Sikh and Affghan cavalry from turning that flank; with this cavalry, I placed Captain Duncan's and Whish's troops of horse artillery, whilst the infantry was covered by the Bombay troop of horse artillery, under Major Blood."

"On the right of the Bombay column, and with the right resting on the nullah, I placed Brigadier-general Campbell's division of infantry, covered by No. 5 and No. 10 light field batteries, under Major Ludlow and Lieutenant Robertson, having Brigadier Hoggan's brigade of infantry in reserve."

"Upon the right of the nullah, I placed the infantry division of Major-general Sir Walter Gilbert; the heavy guns, eighteen in number under Majors Day and Horsford, with Captain Shakspear, and Brevet-major Sir R. Shakspear, commanding batteries, being disposed, in two divisions, upon the flanks of his left brigade."

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"The line was prolonged by Major-general Whish's division of infantry, with one brigade of infantry, under Brigadier Markham, in support, in second line; and the whole covered by three troops of horse artillery, Major Fordyce's, Captains Mackenzie's and Anderson's, and No. 17 light field battery, under Captain Dawes, with Lieutenant-colonel Lane's, and Captain Kinleside's, troops of horse artillery, in a second line, in reserve, under Lieutenant-colonel Brind."

"My right flank was protected by Brigadiers Hearsey's and Lockwood's brigades of cavalry, with Captain Warner's troop of horse artillery."

"The 5th and 6th light cavalry, with the Bombay light field battery, and the 45th and 69th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Mercer, most effectually protected my rear and baggage."

"With my right wing, I proposed penetrating the centre of the enemy's line, so as to turn the position of their force in rear of the nullah, and thus enable my left wing to cross it with little loss; and, in co-operation with the right, to double upon the centre, the wing of the enemy's force opposed to them."

"At half-past seven o'clock, the army advanced, in the order described, with the precision of a

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parade movement. The enemy opened their fire at a very long distance, which exposed to my artillery both the position and range of their guns. I halted the infantry just out of fire, and advanced the whole of my artillery, covered by skirmishers."

"The cannonade, now opened upon the enemy, was the most magnificent I ever witnessed, and as terrible in its effects."[1]

"The Sikh guns were served with their accustomed rapidity;[2] and the enemy well and resolutely maintained his position; but the terrific force of our fire obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to fall back. I then deployed the infantry, and directed a general advance, covering the movement by my artillery, as before."

"The village of Burra Kalra, the left one of those of that name, in which the enemy had concealed a large body of infantry, and which was apparently the key of their position, lay immediately in the line of Major-general Sir Walter Gilbert's advance, and was carried, in the most brilliant style, by a spirited attack of the third brigade, under Brigadier Penny, consisting of the

[1] Brigadier-general Tennant, commandant of artillery, it is said, proposed a cannonade for three hours. The plan was followed out.

[2] Said to be three times to our twice at Ferozshah.

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2nd Europeans, 31st and 70th regiments of native infantry, which drove the enemy from their cover with great slaughter."

"A very spirited and successful movement was also made, about the same time, against a heavy body of the enemy's troops in and about the second, or Chota, Kalra, by part of Brigadier Hervey's brigade, most gallantly led by Lieutenant-colonel Franks, of her Majesty's 10th foot."

"The heavy artillery continued to advance with extraordinary celerity, taking up successive forward positions, driving the enemy from those they had retired to, whilst the rapid advance, and beautiful fire of the horse artillery and light field batteries, which I strengthened, by bringing to the front the two reserved troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Brind, Brigadier Brooke having the general superintendence of the whole of the horse artillery, broke the ranks of the enemy at all points. The whole infantry line now rapidly advanced, and drove the enemy before it. The nullah was cleared, several villages stormed, the guns that were in position carried, the camp captured, and the enemy routed in every direction; the right wing, and Brigadier-general Campbell's division, passing in pursuit to the eastward, the Bombay column to the westward of the town."

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"The retreat of the Sikh army, thus hotly pressed, soon became a perfect flight; all arms dispersing over the country, rapidly pursued by our troops for a distance of twelve miles, their track strewed with their wounded, their arms, and military equipments, which they threw away to conceal that they were soldiers."

"Throughout the operations thus detailed, the cavalry brigades on the flanks were threatened, and occasionally attacked, by vast masses of the enemy's cavalry, which were, in every instance, put to flight by the steady movements and spirited manœuvres of our cavalry, most zealously and judiciously supported by the troops of horse artillery attached to them, from whom the enemy received the severest punishment."

"On the left, a most successful and gallant charge was made upon the Affghan cavalry, and a large body of Gorchurras, by the Sindh horse, and a party of the 9th lancers, when some standards were captured."

"The determined front shown by the 14th light dragoons, and the other cavalry regiments, on the right, both regular and irregular, completely overawed the enemy, and contributed much to the success of the day. The conduct of all, in following up the fugitive enemy, was beyond all praise."

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"A competent force under the command of Major-general Sir Walter Gilbert, resumed the pursuit towards the Jhelum on the following morning, with a view of cutting off the enemy from the only practicable gun road to the Jhelum. Another division of infantry, under Brigadier-general Campbell, advanced on the road to Bimber, scouring the country in that direction, to prevent their carrying off the guns by that route; and a body of cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Bradford, successfully pushed on several miles into the hills, and twenty-four from Goojerat, accompanied by that most energetic political officer, Captain Nicholson, for the same purpose; whilst I remained in possession of the field, for the purpose of supporting these operations, covering the fords of the Chenab, and destroying the vast magazines of ammunition left scattered in all directions. I am happy to add, that these combinations have been entirely successful, the detached parties coming, at every step, on the wreck of the dispersed and flying foe."

Calibre of 53 *Sikh guns taken.*

1—eighteen-pounder.
2—sixteen pounders.
1—twelve-pounder.
5—nine-pounders.

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19—eight-pounders.
2—seven and a half pounders.
3—seven pounders.
6—six-pounders.
1—three-pounder.
2—two-pounders.

42
8—howitzers.
3—mortars.

53

The British artillery :[1]—

Ten eighteen-pounders, and eight eight-inch howitzers, drawn by elephants; nine troops of horse artillery, and four batteries of foot artillery. —Total, ninety-six guns and howitzers.[2]

"These batteries, engaged in action by those attached to the first and second divisions, advancing within about six hundred yards, and the heavy guns within eight hundred or one thousand yards, of the enemy's artillery, on which they opened their fire about nine o'clock, A.M."

Our artillery practice lasted for three hours. Major-general Whish,[3] in his report on the 22nd

[1] "Blue Book," p. 602. One troop and one battery of Bombay artillery, not at p. 602.

[2] The calibre of the British guns (three out of nine were native troops), would be about 864 pounds. The calibre of the Sikh guns a little more than half of the British.

[3] "Blue Book," p. 609.

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February, 1849, says, "Both troops[1] began a spirited cannonade; and continued it for about three hours, at the rate of forty rounds per gun, per hour, until the enemy's guns in our front (like those, I believe, in front of every part of the line, through a similar treatment) were silenced." These guns were worked at one thousand, and five hundred, yards.

Troops employed.

Cavalry—Her Majesty's 3rd, 9th, and 14th light dragoons; Bengal 1st, 5th, 6th and 8th light cavalry; 3rd and 9th irregular cavalry; detachments of 11th and 14th irregular cavalry, Sindh horse.

Artillery—Nine troops horse artillery, and four light field batteries (one each of the Bombay army).

Infantry—Her Majesty's 10th, 29th, and 32nd foot; Bengal 2nd European regiment; 8th 13th, 15th, 25th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 36th, 45th, 46th, 51st, 52nd, 56th, 69th, 70th, and 72nd.[2]

This force was about twenty-four thousand men.

[1] Fourth of the 1st brigade, and 4th of the 3rd brigade, *native* troops.

[2] The Bombay 1st Fusileers, under Honourable Colonel H. Dundas; the native corps not known to the author.

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The Governor-general,[1] on the 24th March, 1849, reports to the secret Committee, that the British prisoners[2] had been delivered up to Major-general Sir Walter Gilbert, who had been sent in pursuit of the flying Sikhs. On the 10th March, Sirdar Chuttur Sing, and Raja Sher Sing, and several other sirdars and officers of the Sikh army, arrived in his camp, and gave up their swords, and made over seventeen guns. On the 14th, at Rawal Pindee, he received the surrender of the whole body of the Sikh army, the sirdars surrendering their swords, in the presence of the commanding officers of divisions and brigades, and their staff. The total number of guns given up was forty-one, and sixteen thousand stand of arms were laid down. "I have since learnt, that the arms amount to more than twenty thousand." "We have now," writes his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, "in our possession fifty-six guns, taken at Goojerat, and abandoned by the enemy in his retreat on the 21st February; forty-one surrendered to Major-general Sir W. Gilbert, since that event, twelve captured at Chillianwalla, and fifty at Mooltan, making a total of one hundred

[1] "Blue Book," p. 625.

[2] Major and Mrs. Lawrence, her children, and several officers.

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and fifty-eight pieces of ordnance, which have fallen into our hands during the present campaign."

Killed, wounded, and missing in the Sikhs battles from the 18th of December, 1845, to the 21st of February, 1849.

1845.		OFFICERS AND MEN.	HORSES.
18th Dec.	Moodkee	872	297
21, 22, Dec.	Ferozshah	2,419	507
1846			
28th Jan.	Aliwal	589	353
10th Feb.	Sobraon	2,383	148
		6,263	1,305
1848.			
23rd Nov.	Ramnuggur	90	140
3rd Dec.	Sadoolapoor	73	48
1849.			
13th Jan.	Chillianwalla	2,357	176
1848 & 1849.	Mooltan	1,198	0
21st Feb., 1849.	Goojerat	807	230
Grand totals		10,788	1,899

This brings to a conclusion the account of the principal political and military events in India, from the year 1756 to 1849; or, during a period of ninety-three years. The Punjab was annexed to British India.

FINIS.

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